

The Nation.

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The Week.

President Roosevelt knew, when he called Mr. Henry C. Payne to his Cabinet, after Mr. McKinley's refusal to give him office, that his political standards were much those of Quay or Platt. Hence Mr. Roosevelt was not entitled to sympathy when Mr. Payne failed to do him credit in office. We are assured that, after the gravity of the postal scandals was recognized, Mr. Payne did his utmost to ferret out the offenders. But when the first proofs were brought to his attention he denounced them as "hot air," and did what he could to suppress them, even to the extent of attacking and wrongfully accusing Mr. Seymour W. Tulloch, to whom he never made due reparation. With many genial personal qualities, his first thought was for the party; the public service came next, and he owed his retention in office to Mr. Roosevelt's unwillingness to dismiss a Cabinet officer under fire, and turning to Mr. Bristow to do the actual work of reform.

Secretary Shaw blossomed out, on October 5 into a Constitutional pundit, holding in his speech at Indianapolis that it is "by no means certain" that the Constitution gives Congress the right to investigate an executive department of the Government. Congress may, it is true, make the laws governing the administrative officials, but, once made, they have "sole authority." It is a pity that this comfortable doctrine was not discovered long ago. It would have come in uncommonly handy to estop some of the disagreeable inquiries Congress has made—into the Conduct of the War, for example, or into the Crédit Mobilier and Pacific Mail Subsidy scandals. It is really amusing to see a Secretary puffing himself out in this way, as if beyond the reach of the grand inquest of the nation. Mr. Shaw has once or twice come perilously near setting himself above the law, but some one ought to tell him that his high and mighty airs will not be stomached by Congress. "I fancy it would cause a commotion," he says, "if the Chief Executive should demand papers from the files of Congress"; but it would be nothing, we can assure him, to the commotion that would be caused by a Secretary of the Treasury refusing information to a Congressional committee of investigation. He would soon find out that the breath which had made him could also destroy. Secretary Shaw is on the wrong tack. What he should try to convince people is, not that a Democratic House could not lawfully thrust

a probe into the departments, but that it would find no rottenness there.

Senator Fairbanks is to speak in Wisconsin under the auspices of the La Follette and not the Spooner Republicans. To this extent the National Committee has reversed the position it took last June when it seated the Stalwart delegates in the National Convention. This is undoubtedly a heavy blow to the faction dominated by the "Federal crowd," led by the two United States Senators and the chairman of the Congressional Committee. Yet according to the standards which the party maintains elsewhere, there would be no excuse for withholding recognition. Even Addicks, in Delaware, because he can produce more votes than the other side, receives recognition in every way that the party and President Roosevelt can give it. It is now perfectly certain that if anybody can "deliver the goods" for the national ticket it is La Follette. He has received the sanction of the highest State court, and in the caucuses of last week he snatched the city of Milwaukee from the hands of his opponents.

"Call off the third ticket," cry the La Follette Republicans of Wisconsin, to Chairman Cortelyou. "The Stalwarts were the ones who went to court for vindication. Now that the decision is in our favor, it is time for them to withdraw. If the national ticket suffers, it will be their own fault." Mr. Cortelyou is in the position of a tamer of wild animals who finds two of his charges tearing each other's throats five minutes before the curtain rises, yet he must present to the audience "our happy family, in which savage beasts from all quarters of the globe live together in affectionate harmony." Does any one suppose that the Wisconsin fight can be "called off" by any power on earth? Both sides long ago passed the point where even a temporary truce could be patched up. The differences, while small enough on the surface, are irreconcilable. The withdrawal of the third candidate will not make the Stalwarts vote the regular Republican ticket. His presence in the field is important only because a vote for Schofield will hurt La Follette but half as much as a vote for Peck. The new appeal unto Cæsar, however, has another aspect. It places on the national leaders once more the responsibility of putting their fingers into the Wisconsin mess. La Follette and his partisans had every reason to feel aggrieved at the contemptuous and offensive way in which they were "thrown down" at the Chicago convention. If now the national chair-

man fails to do what the Governor asks—which, there is much reason to believe, he could not do if he tried—there will be still less ground for the Regular Republicans of Wisconsin to feel any obligation to support the national ticket.

What crimes men will commit in the name of electing a President, we see again in the news from Delaware. The Addicks and the anti-Addicks Republicans have fused—that is, corruption and decency have fallen into each other's arms in order to save the State for Roosevelt. Party pressure has been too strong for common honesty. The fight which the anti-Addicks Republicans have been waging for so many years, in the hope of saving Delaware from the foul hands of a public debaucher, they now give over lest the three electoral votes of their State be lost to the great preacher of political purity and the arch enemy of compromise with sin. Better that thirty or three hundred votes were lost to him than that a single one should be won with the Addicks smirch upon it. The "fusion" in Delaware—this political mixture of light and darkness, honor and shame—was attended by every circumstance of ignominy. Addicks agreed to take a "Regular" Republican for Governor, provided the latter would promise to appoint an Addicks tool Secretary of State. When this infamous agreement was first proposed, the *Wilmington Evening Journal* said of it that not only would it be in plain violation of the Delaware Constitution, but that "the man who would accept on these conditions would be such an obnoxious worm that it would be a proper act to spurn him with our feet." Pleasant reading for Mr. Preston Lea of Wilmington, the "fused" candidate!

A single word of but three letters marks the only important difference between the Massachusetts Republican platform and that adopted by the National Convention, yet this is all that distinguishes a plank which means something from one that means nothing at all. "Commercial reciprocity" the national platform wanted when it could be secured "without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry." One sawmill, one boatload of herrings, could, under this, stand in the way of liberal statesmanship. It took no more courage for a mediæval theologian to refuse acceptance of a "que" than for a New England Republican to reject this little "any." Still, in advocating reciprocity with Canada, there was no such rashness as the Democrats showed in naming coal, lumber, fish, and natural products as the articles

which should be admitted duty free. For ourselves, we rejoice at every sign of Republican revolt against tariff shackles, yet in judgment on Friday's reciprocity plank we would respectfully cite a critic whose "great ability and scholarly attainments" the convention officially recognized, viz., Henry C. Lodge. The convention of which he was master last April declared that "reciprocity with Canada" is a mere phrase until the concessions offered on one side and demanded on the other are stated in detail. Those who demand reciprocity with Canada should furnish details if they desire action." If that remains an intelligent criticism, the Republican and Democratic platforms adopted last week are just the documents to which it should be applied. Senator Lodge was near to tears in his speech to the Convention, but all the stage business of the broken voice and the raised right hand cannot obscure the obvious fact that Lodge has been forced to beat an ignominious retreat on the reciprocity plank. It came down to a question of his eating his own words or having to fight for an endorsement by the Convention, and he showed with alacrity the great purpose for which he had been constructed hollow.

Since reciprocity is to occupy a prominent place in the tariff discussion of this year, it is important that the Democratic attitude toward the Cuban treaty should not be misrepresented. Mr. John Sharp Williams has replied to the insinuation in the President's letter of acceptance that the Democrats are insincere in their advocacy of reciprocity. If a willingness to go farther than your opponent in a good cause is a mark of insincerity, then the Democrats in Congress should be found guilty of it. In the Fifty-seventh Congress their crime consisted in getting the bill amended so as to remove the "differential" duty which protects the Sugar Trust, and in that form the Republican majority was unwilling to pass it. In the last Congress, when Mr. Williams had acceded to the leadership, all the House Democrats but eight voted for the bill, while thirteen Republican votes were cast against it. Thus, on the only specific proposal for reciprocity before Congress in the last few years, the Democrats actually stood for a larger measure of liberality than the Republicans.

Timothy L. Woodruff seems to be the only prominent Republican who openly admits that there is any trouble ahead of his party. The rainbows which gild the skies of B. B. Odell, jr., William Barnes, jr., Francis Wayland Higgins, and Louis F. Payn, the reconciled, when they talk for publication, have faded into the light of common day before Mr. Woodruff can manage to turn his head that way. He thinks President Roose-

velt will carry the State of New York, but he does not disguise the fact that "a sharp fight" is being made against Mr. Higgins. If there is any soreness in the Republican party, Woodruff is the man to know about it. At this very minute he is lying outside the breastworks among his bleeding followers, where his eye can note every wound, his ear catch every groan. No marvel that this scene of misery renders him skeptical about the extravagant claims of the Odell managers, based on a "private poll," and about the "developments before election day which will amaze the Opposition and cement the Republicans into a solid and united party." It was ex-Gov. Frank S. Black who, in his speech nominating Roosevelt, sneered at the Democrats for fighting each other rather than the common enemy. Mr. Black follows the method of those church fathers who used to recommend as a spiritual exercise the contemplation first of the sin of the angels, and then the sin of Adam and Eve. If he is interested in the spectacle of factional strife, upon which he philosophizes with so much vivacity, he has but to look about him in his own party.

The theory that Mayor McClellan's removal of the Civil Service Commission was nothing but a political trick is too clever by half. It was not only a "McCarren man" who had to go, but two "Murphy men" as well. In any case, the reasons given for the dismissals are sound and sufficient. Officials who violate the law must not whimper when they are visited by the penalties of the law. And it must not be forgotten that the Mayor's sincerity will soon be in the way of a conclusive test. He is now under double bonds to act similarly in any new cases of the kind brought to his attention. The Civil Service Reform Association will have fresh cause to go to him with every well-founded complaint. He will be bound to follow his own precedent. No doubt the new Civil Service Commission will bear watching. Mr. Coler's record is not inspiring to reformers, but he has the fate of his delinquent predecessor before his eyes.

When Judge Parker quoted a decision of the Supreme Court in support of his contention that the common law provides a remedy for the evils caused by Trusts, he did not realize upon what a feeble reed he leaned. The whole question has been carried to the October term of the *Review of Reviews*; and that august tribunal, the entire editorial board sitting *in banco*, has unanimously reversed the Supreme Court. The opinion, which was delivered by Shaw, C. J., states that the defendant, one Parker, although "a gentleman of fine mental poise," has not shown "a very masterful grasp of national affairs." This,

the opinion continues, "was to be expected" from one who had devoted himself exclusively to the humdrum duties of a mere judge. Kindly, but firmly, Mr. Justice Shaw lays down what is now the law of the land, and shows that "the common law has no application to matters of national concern," and that the Trusts can "be dealt with from the national standpoint" only by "the enactment of Federal statutes." This is the end of the matter; henceforth the case of the Rough Rider vs. the Judge is *res adjudicata*. While the question was before the lower courts, we expressed the belief that the weight of authority was on the side of the Judge. That opinion we are now obliged to recall. We admit, with shame, that we had no basis for it except a decision of the Supreme Court; but now that the law has uttered its final word, we hasten to correct the error. Like the House of Lords, the *Review of Reviews* cannot reverse itself; and there is nothing for the Judge to do but to take to the tall grass.

The lynching of a white man at Kershaw, South Carolina, who had himself killed four men at different times and yet gone unpunished, has stirred Southern newspapers to further denunciations of the prevalent lawlessness. They have at last awakened to the fact that so insidious a moral disease must be checked the instant it first shows itself unless the whole surrounding country is to be infected. The *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Columbia (S. C.) State*, the *Charlotte Observer*, and many others are daily calling upon their readers to redeem the South's good name. The *State*, for one, realizes what material injury is being done to the cotton States by the frightening away of capital and immigrants. All this, as we have said before, is highly encouraging. But the Southern newspapers will not do their whole duty unless they are ready to follow the *State's* lead and include in their denunciations the Tillmans, Vardamans, Jeff Davises, and others who seek political honors by abusing negroes and by inciting to lawlessness and race hatred. The latest offender is Congressman J. T. Heflin of Alabama. Speaking at Tuskegee, he said he thought that no harm would have been done if Roosevelt and Booker Washington had been blown up when they dined together. This, he now explains, was only a joke, but he said in earnest that if Mr. Washington interfered in the Congressional contest, "there is a way of stopping him. We have a way of influencing negroes down here when it becomes necessary."

In a noteworthy article in the *Forum* Prof. Kelly Miller calls attention to the readiness with which the entire negro race is condemned for certain crimes,

just as if no white men were ever guilty of them. In 1890 no less than 81 white persons were convicted in the United States of the "unmentionable crime." In the city of Chicago in one year, more white men were arrested and convicted for this offence than there were negroes charged with it in the entire South. In 1902 there were 148 persons arrested for it in New York city alone, as against fifty negroes who were done to death for the crime in the South. But, as Professor Miller points out, nobody comments on the New York or Chicago offenders, or is particularly excited over them, while the whole country is informed of the "black scourge." "If," he adds, "cases of lightning-stroke were advertised with as much horrifying particularity, we should all live in momentary dread of the terror of the sky." A recent study of lynching by a Yale graduate shows that of 1,872 negro victims of mob law, only 35 per cent. were killed on the charge of rape. How many innocent men there were even among them nobody can tell.

Kuropatkin has begun his advance southward, and has already engaged the enemy in force. This shows his entire confidence in the Siberian railroad, whose successful operation has been the marvel of the war. When the first blow was struck, there was a general assumption that the management would collapse. The rails were too light, and there were too few sidetracks to permit the handling of many troop trains. The crossing of Lake Baikal was also an insuperable difficulty; and Japanese spies, Chinese bandits, or daring raiding parties were certain to blow up bridges and cut the line with sufficient frequency to make it unworkable. Finally, it was pointed out that the supplying of an army at such a distance by one frail line of railroad was an unheard-of undertaking. Yet the Siberian railway has done more than was expected of it, having been blocked only for two weeks early in the summer. No spies or raiders have done any injury worth speaking of, and the building of the line around Lake Baikal has just been successfully finished. More than that, Gen. Kuropatkin has had all the rolling stock he needed at his immediate disposal at his end of the line. The comparative ease with which he retreated from Liaoyang, leaving only insignificant stores to fall into the hands of his disappointed pursuers, is conclusive proof of this. And, despite the retention of emergency and hospital trains, the Siberian railway has brought him more and more men with unceasing regularity, while from no source has there been the slightest hint that his men were suffering for want of food or were in need of ammunition. A winter campaign is in prospect.

One thousand millions is the estimate of the cost of the war to Japan made by Count Okuma in a public address at Tokio on Thursday. He doubtless bases this on the belief that hostilities cannot last more than two years, within which time one or the other of the contestants must stop for very exhaustion. Whatever the outcome, the issue has been bravely faced by the Japanese statesmen. Their financial plans have not thus far miscarried in any particular. Not content with providing for the passing hour, they are looking far into the financial future. They have shown our Republican editors and politicians who deny the possibility of retrenchment in national expenditures, that they can use the pruning-knife at a time when nations are generally most reckless in their expenditures, by lopping off \$10,000,000 in prefectural expenses. If necessary, they will cut down the schools and hamper popular education. What a comment upon the alleged benefits of warfare, that so progressive a nation must retard its own development because of a dispute with another Power over the property of a third, and burden its people with an enormous debt to be paid by future generations!

That an open breach between Chamberlain and Balfour can long be delayed seems improbable after the former's speech of Wednesday week. There was a distinct note of resentment and warning in it. The Premier's announcement at Edinburgh a couple of days before that he did not favor protection, seems to have nettled Mr. Chamberlain. He himself does not desire "the protection of fifty years ago"; all he wants is that foreigners be made to "pay toll on shipments to the British market"—in other words, the old protectionist nonsense about the foreigner paying the tax. When it came to the question of a colonial conference and waiting for a general election, Mr. Chamberlain was even sharper in his criticism of the Prime Minister. The prospect of "endless delay," with repeated consultation of the constituencies, is naturally distasteful to a man of Chamberlain's years. Others may wait, but he is an old man in a hurry. Besides, he now has full control of the Conservative party organization. He feels that he is master, and that it is Balfour's part meekly to obey.

If anybody wonders how Mr. Joseph Chamberlain finances his protectionist campaign, let him ponder the following incident. A year ago, Mr. White, chairman of the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, stated that "if the wisdom and statesmanship of the country should declare that duties on some manufactures should be levied, cement was an article that would cry aloud to be included." The same gentleman has

just now reported that the profits of his concern had increased during the past twelvemonth by some \$100,000. Evidently, therefore, what his industry is "crying aloud" for is not protection, but swollen gains. And equally evident is the fact that the men who hope to see their profits multiplied by law, are willing to help Mr. Chamberlain get control of the lawmaking body, in expectation of favors to come. In a word, English nostrils already perceive the smell of corruption that has always attended protective tariffs.

English sticklers for purity in public life will have got a severe shock in the election of Mr. Marks for the Isle of Thanet. Though successful by a reduced Conservative majority, this candidate's private character had been openly assailed. He was charged with financial irregularities of a grave sort. So intense was the dislike to having a man of his record stand for Parliament that the *London Times* kicked over the party traces and said that Mr. Marks ought to be defeated; while a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury was used against him, though it merely insisted in general terms upon the duty of giving a seat in the Commons only to reputable men. But the constituency was doggedly Conservative, and doubtless thought it was better to elect a protectionist under a cloud than a free-trader above challenge personally.

"The German Empire must be very strongly welded together if it is not to be injured by such discussions and happenings," is the view of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* of the Emperor's extraordinary action in the matter of the Lippe-Detmold succession. The truth is, that there is friction from time to time between the component parts of the Empire and the Federal Government, and, though Lippe is but a tiny part of the Emperor's domains, his remarkable attempt to influence its affairs is bound to cause uneasiness elsewhere. In Detmold there is natural indignation. The chief minister has dared to "hurl defiance at the forces trying to overturn the present order," and the delegate to the Reichstag would express his views if only the law of leze-majesty permitted. The dynastic questions involved were thoroughly threshed out in 1897 when the late regent was installed, and it is therefore particularly annoying to his subjects to have the Kaiser reopen it now in favor of his brother-in-law, whose pretensions to the regency were unfavorably passed upon by a special court of arbitration composed of six members of the Supreme Court of the Empire. This court held that the late regent was entitled to the succession. It is for a reversal of this carefully rendered judgment that the Kaiser is now so unwisely contending.

"KNIGHTS OF THE BIG STICK."

Word comes from Iowa that the Republicans of that State are to organize paraders for the campaign under the title of "Knights of the Big Stick." The idea is, of course, to brazen out one of the objections to President Roosevelt. There have been instances where a term of reproach has been defiantly taken up and worn as an ornament, but never anything quite like this latest "Iowa idea."

Here is a great agricultural State, sown with schools and dotted with churches. Its senior United States Senator, Mr. Allison, is the great economizer at the head of the Committee on Appropriations. He has been supposed faithfully to represent his constituents in standing for thrift and peace. Yet we see the most sedate and moral among them—at least, men asserting that they are such—ready to embark on a mad-cap policy of huge expenditures leading to war. Either that, or their proposal is a foolish trifling with the greatest national concerns, in itself almost as unworthy and menacing as the open glorification of war would be.

We say this, because we believe there is a profound and needed truth in a sentence of the "Appeal to the Nations" issued by the Peace Congress on Saturday. It is the one calling upon intelligent people everywhere to "arouse themselves to a finer and more adequate conception of their rights in the determination of the foreign policies pursued by their governments, that they may no longer be involved in foolish and ruinous wars with other Powers." Here is indeed the *fons et origo* of modern wars. They are made not by the people, but by diplomats. They spring not from race jealousies or international hatreds, but from the negotiations, the exigencies, too often from the diseased pride or the political ambitions, of Foreign Secretary or President. Relations between nations are subtly inflamed and secretly poisoned by those in charge of their foreign policy; the people are left in the dark, all unknowing, when suddenly the announcement is made of a strained and acute situation, the press sounds the trumpet, the appeal to patriotism is artfully made, and the country finds itself at war, it knows not how or why.

That is an exact description of some of the most terrible of recent wars. The Boer war was made in the office of Colonial Secretary Chamberlain. He kept not only the English people, but even his own chief, Lord Salisbury, practically in ignorance of the dangerous path he was treading, and they saw not that it led over a precipice until it was too late to draw back. No one can follow the diplomatic negotiations preceding the war between Japan and Russia without perceiving that it was the dictators of foreign policy who brought on the countless

woes we have seen. It was true of Russia, at any rate, that her people dreamed not seriously of war, were averse to it, and went into it finally with unconcealed regret and reluctance. They furnished a grim illustration of the power of a haughty or unscrupulous man clothed with great but passing authority, to plunge a mighty nation into mournful disaster.

Such a danger is one from which Americans can boast no exemption simply on account of their form of government. We have no autocracy, but we have a President vested with enormous powers. They are greatest of all, and most perilous because most vague, in precisely the region of foreign policy. Stevens, in his "Notes on the Constitution," cites a private conversation he had with ex-President Hayes, in which that experienced man pointed out the possibilities of the indefinite "war powers" in the hands of a reckless or ambitious President. A Cæsar or a Napoleon, if so minded, could easily run his course under them. How imminent the peril of their abuse may be, with the people all unwitting, President Roosevelt showed us in his dealings with Colombia a year ago. In reality, he went to war with that country, of his own volition. Not one of his learned defenders who have talked so much of his Constitutional right to "recognize" the unhatched republic of Panama, has ventured to touch upon Mr. Roosevelt's order to prevent Colombian troops from moving freely on their own territory. That was an undoubted act of war. If the chivalrous President had not picked out an emaciated invalid to beat with his stick, a bloody conflict would at once have followed; and he alone, without act of Congress, by no mandate of the people, would have been responsible for the desolating consequences. As it turned out, Colombia being too weak to resent our defrauding and bullying, Mr. Roosevelt was simply responsible for one of the meanest and most dishonorable acts that ever stained our diplomatic annals.

The moral of the "Appeal to the Nations" is not that foreign policy should be determined in mass meeting. That is not intended by the advice to keep a more jealous eye upon its conduct. It is impossible to strip our Presidency, for example, of its great powers in international relations. But with the great powers should go great prudence, large sagacity, restraint, gravity, a knowledge of the law and a willingness to abide by it. Let us not think of abolishing the powers, but of getting men who will exercise them safely. And when we find that we have a President who recklessly swings his club among all the breakables of the Foreign Office, let not a sober people fail to rebuke him, at the first opportunity, for what is either his incredible levity in an exalted station, or else a recklessness which can only be called

criminal. If they show that they are ready lightly to condone Mr. Roosevelt's beginnings of mischief, they cannot complain if, with a popular election as his ostensible warrant, he should let his dangerous policy bring forth its perfect work. In that case, the Iowa farmers and church-going merchants would look in vain for the peace in which their truest interest lies, and would find the Big Stick, of which they propose to make a campaign jest, coming down in sober earnest, but upon their own heads.

THE WAY TO SEEK PEACE.

It is a remark of the great Roman historian that it is easier for evil-disposed men to agree in promoting war than it is to unite those desirous of peace. This truth was illustrated by the Peace Congress at Boston on Thursday. With the aims of that body we are in the heartiest sympathy. Its deliberations have been, for the most part, admirable in tone, and its resolutions went straight to the duty of saving the nations, not only from insensate war, but from being crushed to the earth by insensate armaments in time of peace. Still, when it was a question of following up sound doctrine with individual application, there was a division of opinion and a strange hesitancy in pressing truth to its conclusion. The Congress was willing to seek peace by commendable generalities, but apparently not to pursue it by an unflinching rebuke of those who are seeking war.

The report on the "reduction of armaments" thanked President Roosevelt for his promise to summon another Hague Conference, and expressed the opinion that its "first act should be a plan for the arrest and ultimate abolition of armaments," which the previous Conference had declared to be "a crushing burden on the whole world." Excellent, said one delegate, the Rev. C. F. Dole; now let us do something practical. If we are to disarm, let Messieurs the Armers begin! Accordingly, he introduced a resolution setting forth that, "whereas no European country has the intention of invading an American country, there is no need of suspicion against our neighbors, and there is no necessity for the increase of our naval armaments." Instantly there was heated objection. One of those retired generals who usually furnish the bellicose element in peace congresses, took the floor to protest against such a reflection on the Government of the United States. He "stood there as an old soldier," etc., to say that a huge American navy meant the upholding of the Monroe Doctrine, and that meant peace. So the resolution was voted down.

This convenient lugging in of the Monroe Doctrine as an excuse for arming to the teeth, is an artifice which has been worn thin by too much use. If no for-

sign nation took a step which threatened violation of the Doctrine, even when we had no navy worth speaking of, why these sudden qualms now? It looks very much as if the determination were to have swollen armaments at all hazards, and that the need of sustaining the Monroe Doctrine is simply a pretence. In itself, at any rate, the argument will not bear examination. If a big fleet is our sole bulwark of peace, then we ought already to be at war, since our navy is far surpassed in strength by that of Powers who, according to President Roosevelt, are prevented from attacking us only because they fear us. All this is to turn things upside down, and to convert security into a reason for distrust. This whole conception of the Monroe Doctrine as a great guarantee of peace that keeps us constantly in dread of war, and compels us to endure the burdens of war even when nominally enjoying the blessings of peace, is so absurd that it almost seems as if Pope had foreseen it when he wrote in the "Dunciad" of the place

" . . . where Folly holds her throne,
And laughs to think Monroe would take her down."

This contention that immense armaments make for peace is hollow. It will not bear the weight of a good history. The facts make it collapse. This cry is simply a variant of that of ambitious rulers in all ages. Napoleon III. had no Monroe Doctrine, but he had the Empire: "L'Empire, c'est la paix." But everybody knows now what a barefaced lie that was. The display of might provokes rivals; it does not intimidate and certainly does not conciliate them. If enormous armies and great naval strength insure peace, why are Russia and Japan fighting? Take the case of Germany today. Why all these international jealousies on her account; why the irresponsible talk in our navy that "we shall have to lick Germany next"; why the organized campaign of the newspapers and military experts in England to bring on a war with Germany? Simply because Germany has a navy, strong already, and to be made stronger. But for that, it is certain, we should not hear from so many quarters *Delenda est Alemania*. The point is that the armament which, on the theory, should have greatly increased the chances of peace, has, in fact, diminished them. We look for peace, and lo! a sword.

It is necessary to think clearly and speak frankly about this matter. Peace does not depend upon fear. It goes with good will and mutual respect. Threats are a vain thing for safety. The nations will not embrace each other at cannon's mouth or bayonet's point. Peace kept by the stronger? What is it that has made the history of the Anglo-Saxon race so painfully near Wendell Phillips's description of it as "a drunken revel of blood"? The law of the strong which is, not peace, not forbearance, but aggres-

sion and bloodshed. We must clear our minds of this cant about the needless multiplication of the engines of war being really a peace measure. That is not their real design; that will not be their actual effect, unless history needs to be rewritten and human nature is radically changed from what it always has been. Knowing these truths, happy will Peace Congresses be if they boldly utter them. War is a game which kings would not play if their subjects were wise, and it is also, as Shelley tells us, "the statesman's game"; so that it is the duty of those who make and unmake statesmen—namely, the people who have to pay the taxes and furnish their bodies as food for cannon—to insist by voice and pen and vote that war, and the huge armaments that lead to war, shall be kept out of their thoughts and plans.

CONFUSION IN WISCONSIN.

It would have been hard for the Wisconsin Supreme Court to hand down a decision which would have less influence on the political situation than will that of October 5. The outsider, no less than the citizen at home, has longed for the chance to say, after a judicial review of the Republican split, "At last the situation is clear. Now both sides know where they stand." As a matter of fact, the decision makes the situation more, rather than less, confusing. The Democrats have promptly declared that the election of Peck for Governor is now certain; while the Republicans, with equal manifestations of delight, assert that there is no longer any doubt of the State's electoral vote for Roosevelt. Wisconsin thus joins that extraordinary roll of States which the Republicans claim for the national ticket, but concede to the Democrats on State issues.

One thing, at least, can be assumed: no considerable number of the men who burned their bridges behind them last spring and have taken part in the Stalwart campaign during the summer, will vote for La Follette now. It is questionable if many of them ever intended to support even their own respectable third ticket. Those who did, now that the right to the name "Republican" is taken from their nominee, can with clearer consciences vote for the Democrat. If the decision had gone the other way, there would have been at least a sentimental obligation to vote the ticket pronounced "regular," though among the La Follette partisans it would have caused a feeling of resentment against the "Federal crowd" which they might have gratified by "knifing" the national ticket.

In much of the discussion of the Wisconsin complication, critics have failed to realize how overwhelmingly Republican the State was to start with. The percentage of Republican "scratching" which would elect Herrick in this State,

would hardly attract attention in Wisconsin. La Follette was first elected Governor in 1900 by a plurality of 103,745 out of a total vote cast of only 441,900. In 1902, with a vote but little more than one-half as large, he had 47,599 votes more than his opponent. The ratio of Republican to Democratic votes in his first election was about as 11 to 7. In 1902 it was about 4 to 3. Thus, if we figure upon the 1900 returns, fully one-fifth of the Republicans must go over to change the result, while on a basis of the 1902 figures the proportion must be about one-sixth.

Nobody knows the exact numerical strength of the Stalwart movement, but it unquestionably includes much more than a fifth of the Republican party. It elected only a little less than half of the delegates to the last State convention. It has the support of a majority of the Republican papers of the State and the services of most of the old party "war horses." The railroads and the manufacturing interests are with it. Counting as a Stalwart every believer in Republican policies who is for any reason opposed to Gov. La Follette, the faction cannot have been very much weaker numerically than that which supported the State Administration.

Yet possible danger to the national ticket may come from the very strength of the faction which the national convention recognized. Say that 20 per cent. of the Republicans must vote for Peck to elect him. Only a mere handful of these need take the trouble to mark their ballots for Roosevelt electors to make the national ticket safe. But suppose two-fifths of the Republicans leave La Follette, and the Democratic Governor gets an overwhelming majority. Then the electoral ticket goes with it, unless a full half of the bolting Republicans vote split tickets and mark every Roosevelt elector separately. In fact, there will be a good number of "fair-minded Democrats" who will vote for La Follette and Parker electors. He would be rash indeed who attempted prophecy on the data at hand, yet there is certainly no reason for abandoning hope either for a Republican Governor or Democratic success on the electoral vote.

The local campaign is now under way, and it shows that in one State, at least, the charge of "apathy" is unfounded. Men who concede the truth of many of the Stalwarts' charges are supporters of La Follette; men who believe in all of the Governor's measures joined in the "bolt" last spring. M. G. Jeffris, the presiding officer of the "rump" convention, fired the opening gun of the Stalwart campaign in Milwaukee the other day. As the *Sentinel* put it, "For the first time since he began his campaign of vilification and misrepresentation four years ago, the arguments and pretensions of Gov. La Follette have

been met and refuted from a Republican platform by a Republican speaker." His speech dealt almost wholly with the charges against La Follette as an administrator. He dwelt on the shortage in the State Treasurer's office, the high fees charged the Prudential Company by the Insurance Commissioner for an examination. He described the increase in State expenses; denounced La Follette's political methods, as in the use of game wardens to look after his interests; charged him with defaming the good name of the State, and with having secret understandings with the railroads and seeking favors from them while fighting them openly. But as to the measures with which La Follette is identified, half the shots hit no mark. La Follette wants a primary law. Mr. Jeffris was himself opposed to it, yet he pointed out that the Stalwarts were willing to extend the direct primary to 1,100 offices, and joined in submitting to the referendum the more comprehensive bill. On this, the allegation against the Governor is simply that he insisted on all or nothing. La Follette wants a railroad commission, partly elective and partly appointive. The Stalwarts want it to be entirely elective. La Follette wants the railroads taxed on an ad-valorem basis. So do the Stalwarts; in fact, they trace the origin of the plan to Senator Quarles. One sees how issues cross each other and personalities collide in this remarkable Wisconsin campaign.

PROGRESS OF PRIMARY REFORM.

In the present status of the direct-nomination discussion in this country, general arguments on the theory should give place to study of experiments and the working out of safeguards against the incidental evils. Primary reform is receiving attention in a number of States this year. Oregon is to make the first trial of a direct-nomination law passed last June. In Wisconsin the most comprehensive act of this kind ever proposed in a Northern State will be submitted to the voters. In Illinois, Charles S. Deneen, the Republican candidate for Governor, is strongly advocating legislation along the same line, and declares that if he is elected with a Republican Legislature, and primary reform is not accomplished, he shall consider his administration a failure. Minnesota and Massachusetts have, within the last fortnight, nominated candidates by the direct primary.

The Minnesota primaries have been followed by the usual criticisms, which point out three objectionable features: interference with one party's nominations by members of the other, undue advantage to men whose names are widely known; and the display of petty prejudices. The St. Paul *Globe* asserts that the voter who would use the blan-

ket ballot provided by the old primary law to vote for candidates of the other party, now, under the amended law which requires a public declaration of party allegiance, "just as unblushingly demands a ballot of the party to which he does not belong, and does the same thing. We have violated the principle of secrecy of the ballot," it concludes, "without any gain whatever." The *Minneapolis Journal* applies the second criticism pointedly to the overwhelming victory of the extreme "stand-patter," Congressman McCleary. Seventy-five per cent. of the Republicans in his district believe in revision downward, it says, "and with a decided dip at that." There was a sharp fight against his re-nomination. Yet the opposition vote was only a few hundred. "The people of the Second District sacrificed their political views in a political campaign for the personal benefit of a man they knew and liked." A defeated candidate spoke of another weakness, namely, that "a candidate has small chances of winning unless his name ends with a 'son.'" This is the same difficulty that was met in the aldermanic primaries of Boston last winter, where the leaders could not get the Democratic voters to nominate any candidates who did not have Irish names.

It was promptly pointed out, to the discredit of the primary law, that the notorious "Doc" Ames, whom the most brazen of bosses would hardly dare to offer for an elective office, and who probably would not have had a vote in an open convention, came in third with 5,000 votes in one of the Congressional fights. At the same time, it is fair to note that, by this same primary, the Republicans nominated for Mayor D. Percy Jones, the man who, as president of the aldermen, took hold and cleaned up the Minneapolis city government when Ames ran away.

The direct primary, in short, is neither a failure nor a panacea. When the issues are clearly defined, and the electorate is interested and conscientious, its advantages over the convention are so obvious that there is little to be said on the other side. But when the campaign is listless and there is nothing particular to vote about, the nominations which it makes are no better, and may be worse, than those which an enlightened and sagacious leader would dictate. As people become accustomed to the direct primary, it may work better. Voters will perceive that the same judgment is necessary in the primary as in the election itself. Meanwhile there are details deserving attention.

The most serious difficulty in practice has been to prevent one party from interfering with the other's nominations. Massachusetts and Minnesota require from the voter a declaration of his party allegiance at the polls. There has been

strong objection to this in both States, and conscientious men have refused to vote on account of it. One reason for the general satisfaction with the workings of the direct primary in the Southern States is that this trouble is almost entirely absent. It is the practice in many localities to allow any white man to vote in the Democratic primaries. Oregon's new law requires the voter to enroll at the spring election in order to take part in the fall primaries. There is some embarrassment just now because the law was passed after the spring election and no one had the chance to enroll. But the general principle is that of the law in New York, which demands enrolment for the primaries so long beforehand that the contests in the party will not ordinarily have shaped themselves.

The framers of the law which will be submitted to the referendum in Wisconsin sought to avoid the declaration of party preference, and at the same time discarded the blanket ballot. The voter will enter the polling-place and receive from the clerks a bundle of ballots, one for each party important enough to have a column on the regular election ballot. He will mark only one of these, but will fold them all, and, passing out, deposit the marked ballot in one box and the unmarked ballots in another. The inclusiveness of the law may be its strength. It applies to the Governor and all State officers, county officers, members of the legislature, Representatives in Congress, United States Senators, and party committeemen. It is believed that every voter will take an interest in the contest for some one of these positions, and will therefore not throw away his vote purely to embarrass the other side.

Another interesting feature of the proposed Wisconsin law is that relating to party platforms. It provides that the candidates for State offices and for the Legislature shall meet on the fourth Tuesday of September, and there adopt the platforms of their respective parties. The theory of the convention system is that the party first lays down its principles and then selects the men to carry them out. In its immediate workings this law seems to put men above policies, though undoubtedly the campaign preliminary to the primary will bring out the issues sharply enough—when there are any.

THE SPANISH WAR CLAIMS.

Few except those directly interested care any longer about such far-off, forgotten things as the claims of American citizens against Spain, growing out of the Cuban war. Of course, they were one of the reasons we alleged for going to war with Spain. The spectacle of American residents in Cuba being done out of property in amount from \$25,

000,000 to \$50,000,000 was one that finally broke down our patience. We fought and conquered Spain; and, in the treaty of peace, our Government agreed to take over and settle by itself all these claims. That done, it proceeded to do its own citizens out of their property more unblushingly than Spain herself.

This may seem a hard saying, but its substantial truth will not be questioned by any one who has taken the trouble to follow the decisions of our Spanish Treaty Claims Commission. Composed of five members, with ex-Senator William E. Chandler as president, it has taken positions completely at variance with the official attitude of President McKinley on the same subject, not to speak of speeches and reports in Congress. The report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, for example, in support of the joint resolution practically declaring war, said that "much" of the \$50,000,000 of property in Cuba belonging to American citizens had been "destroyed," and added that the claims already on file in the State Department amounted to \$16,000,000. Will it be believed that, after all that, and after this Government had bound itself, by Article VII. of the Treaty of Paris, to "settle the claims of its citizens against Spain," making its assumption of these claims one of the reasons for demanding the Philippines as indemnity, the Commission has taken a view of our liability which practically throws these claimants out of court?

Such is the fact, however. By a majority vote (two out of five dissenting), the Commission has laid it down as "a general rule" that Spain was not responsible for damages caused by "an armed insurrection beyond control." It also has decided that "concentration and devastation" (the very things about which the American people were crying to Heaven in 1897 and 1898) "are legitimate war measures." The legal result of all this is to put the burden of proof upon the claimant, to show, not merely destruction of his property, but also that the Spanish officials had the power, and did not exercise "due vigilance," to prevent its destruction. This will naturally be impossible in nine cases out of ten; and the inevitable result will be to leave hundreds of outraged American citizens without redress.

We are not saying that the opinions of the Commission, in the matters referred to, are not good international law. But this Government was bound, in decency, not to take advantage of them. We deliberately waived them in advance. Concentration legitimate warfare? But President McKinley distinctly declared in his messages to Congress that it was not. On December 6, 1897, he declared that "it was not civilized warfare. It was extermination."

He repeated the opinion in almost the same language in his war message of April 11, 1898. But Commissioner Chandler sardonically puts all this aside. He writes with characteristic cynicism in his opinion:

"The President had not then seen and probably did not anticipate the concentration and devastation by United States troops under Gen. Bell in the Philippines. Possibly if he had supposed that, in addition to arousing just national indignation in order to bring on war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba, he was announcing a new principle of international law, and making a finding of facts happening in war which should be conclusive and binding upon United States courts in all future time, he would have withheld or moderated the soul-stirring utterances with which he began a great war for the freedom and independence of a new nation."

Equally strong was the commitment of this Government to the view that these large claims were not only a grievance, not only a partial justification for going to war, but a valid set-off, after being assumed by this country, to the demand of indemnity that we made upon Spain. Secretary Hay was almost tearful when he telegraphed to Paris: "Surely, Spain cannot expect us to turn the Philippines back and bear the cost of the war and all claims of our citizens for damages to life and property in Cuba without any indemnity but Porto Rico!" That is to say, we insisted upon taking the Philippines because we were going to pay these millions in claims of our own citizens. Then we turn about and refuse to pay the claims. Commissioner Maury, in his dissenting opinion, puts the case with cruel exactitude:

"The United States, with satisfaction thus delivered into its hands by Spain, is a trustee of that satisfaction for the holders of the claims which it thus forced Spain to admit and settle; and its representatives should not be permitted now to defeat them before this commission as claims against itself as trustee, on grounds that are wholly inconsistent with those taken by it when Spain was a suppliant for peace on any terms—grounds that, in my judgment, go far toward making mockery of Article VII. of the treaty and of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the taking of private property for public use without 'just compensation.'"

Clearly, these injured Americans would have been better off if we had never gone to war with Spain to redress their injuries. As against the Spanish Government, the Administration at Washington would undoubtedly have pushed their claims with vigor, and it would have demanded the payment of every penny. But when its trusting subjects came to ask that their losses be made good by their own Government, which had solemnly covenanted to do so, they find it swallowing its own words, repudiating its own President, and driving them away empty-handed. Well, at any rate, it is not a very powerful argument for war. A peaceful tribunal could not have done worse by these claimants than the one which, created by a war partly undertaken for their relief, now mocks at their calamity.

GERMANY, ENGLAND, AND RUSSIA.

Foreign observers who have watched with alarm the intense partiality of the English press and public for their Japanese allies, find renewed cause for uneasiness in the determined attacks upon Germany now appearing in Imperialist newspapers. The London *Times* returned to the assault the other day by printing an account of a secret agreement between Russia and Germany in regard to Far Eastern matters. This is said to have been reached during the negotiations for the recently concluded commercial treaty between the two countries. While the anonymous correspondent is not able to give the exact terms of the new understanding, he is certain that it "secures for Russia Germany's support in the ultimate settlement of the terms of peace with Japan." The *quid pro quo* for Germany is a free hand in carrying out the Emperor's scheme of *Welt-Politik* in China "along the lines of least resistance."

Just how malevolent this Machiavelian policy of the schemers in the Wilhelmstrasse is can only be gathered from an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, which is crammed with enough terrible nightmares to please even our sensation-seeking naval jingoes. Far from having designs upon this country, as our Navy Department wiseacres would have us believe, "Calchas" knows by divine inspiration that the one aim and object of the German nation is the destruction of England on land and sea. The friendly meeting of the sovereigns at Kiel is loftily waved aside. The neighborly visit of the German squadron to Plymouth was nothing less than an armed reconnoissance, enjoying "inexplicable opportunities for the study of our coasts and fortresses." These facilities should be restricted at once, while the English fleet should prepare, "with Japanese foresight," "consciously, thoroughly, and with increasing vigilance," to meet the deadly enemy on the North Sea. The real aims of Germany, according to this prophetic soul, are so multifarious as to beggar description in a mere newspaper article. Suffice it to say that Germany intends to carve out a "yellow India" in China; that she has designs on Constantinople; that she would direct Russia's attention to India and Persia after the Czar's exhausting defeat in Mantchuria, to weaken England; that she would make permanent the antagonism between the British Empire and Czardom; that she would force France into the Dual Alliance or make her drop the *entente cordiale*, etc., etc. In short, the history of diplomacy does not record more deep-laid schemes, more subterranean and world-shaking policies than are here credited to the Kaiser and his counsellors.

At the repeated official denials from Berlin the *Times* scoffs persistently. Although the new commercial treaty be-

tween Russia and Germany has not been published, and many German newspapers fear that it is less favorable to their interests than they had hoped, the *Times* knows that Berlin dictated its own terms and that Russia will obtain a loan from Berlin bankers in return. The semi-official press, it condescendingly explains, has received its orders from the Foreign Office, but to carry them out is forced to "grossly misrepresent" the original statements of the *Times* correspondent. All of this may afford profitable advertising for the *Times*, but it neither adds to that journal's prestige nor aids the cause of European peace.

It is, of course, true that Germany is in a position to profit by the Russian embroilment in the East. She has already profited. The serious Russian pressure on her Eastern frontier has necessarily been relaxed by the departure of troops for the East, her shipyards and factories are working overtime to complete Russian contracts, and her merchants and steamship lines have been quick to pick up the business which the Japanese themselves have had to give up for war reasons. Above all, the revelations as to the military and internal weaknesses of Russia have strengthened the hands of the German Foreign Office. The progress of events has made the Russian Bear a more welcome ally, since it has become plain that his claws are not nearly so sharp as had been feared. But the fact remains that a large portion of the German public is quite as averse to any binding alliance with Russia as it is wholly free from military designs upon England, despite the friction of the past six years. The great bulk of the nation would welcome any readjustment which would relieve it of the tremendous military burdens it now believes necessary. And the bitter results of the Bismarckian colonial ventures are no encouragement to empire-building in China, even if that country should fall to pieces. The extra military expenditures such a course would involve would be most distasteful and burdensome.

At the same time, the German Liberal papers have been quick to point out that there are grave internal problems and urgent reforms crying out for adjustment—"our people's freedom needs developing," one newspaper puts it—and that their solution will be advanced the minute the fear of war in the East is removed. Far from there being any danger that good relations with Russia would make for a reactionary and absolutist policy, it is contended with much weight that the opposite would be the case in both countries. But all this does not lend so much as a color of truth to the charges of a conspiracy against Great Britain and her interests, or of a fixed intention to pull Russia's Eastern chestnuts out of the fire for her. So important a newspaper as the *Allgemeine Zeitung*

resents the suggestion that Germany should follow M. de Lanessan's proposal of mediation. Obviously, such a move would immediately expose her to French and English criticism. Of course, the English anti-German press conveniently forgets how warmly it applauded the Anglo-German agreement, and how universally the world recognizes the Kaiser's notable influence in behalf of European peace. But nobody ever doubted that Imperialism walks hand in hand with insincerity and inconsistency.

TALMA.

PARIS, September 28, 1904.

There is at the present time in France a mania for erecting statues, and frequently statues of the most uninteresting or undeserving people. This mania often serves political purposes, as the statues become the occasion of great speeches. Such was not, however, the case to-day, when a statue was erected to Talma, the actor. Talma has the reputation of having been the greatest actor of the beginning of last century, but it seems a little odd that the necessity of having his marble effigy should have been felt only at the beginning of the new century. There remains nothing of the actor after he has disappeared from the stage. He can hardly be said to have any personality, as he never appears except as expressing thoughts which are not his own. His character loses itself in a hundred characters. He is not a creator; there are in our French annals a few—a very few—exceptions to this rule. The most famous is that of Molière, but he was a man of genius, and when we read him or hear his plays, we don't care what sort of an actor he was himself.

Before having the honor of a statue, Talma had that of a biography, written in 1827. It fell rapidly into complete oblivion, but a new edition has just been printed on occasion of the erection of Talma's statue. The author of the biography was a certain Regnault-Warin, who seems to have been a singular and eccentric character. The only work of his worth mentioning, besides his *Mémoires sur Talma*, is the *Mémoires pour servir à la vie du Général Lafayette et l'histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante* (1824), yet he was an incessant writer.

He was born in 1771 at Bar-le-Duc, and before the Revolution broke out he had already written plays. He published at a very early age an *Elements of Politics*, a *Citizens' Library*, and a *Eulogy on Mirabeau*. He was a friend of some of the members of the Gironde, Vergniaud, Brissot, and others, and wrote in their newspapers. He was imprisoned during the Terror, and owed his life to the 9th Thermidor. We find him afterwards trying to prove that the Dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., was taken out of the prison of the Temple (some of the pages he wrote on this subject were used afterwards by the pseudo-Dauphin, Naundorff). He had evidently a taste for mystery, for after his *Prisonniers du Temple* he wrote a book on the Man in the Iron Mask. It would be needless to give a list of his numberless essays; they sometimes procured him enemies and never much money, since he died in great poverty and well forgotten.

The Memoir of Talma was his last work, the only one which is readable in our day with any profit. There is no literary merit in it, but some of the facts preserve a certain interest. Unfortunately, the author mixed matters of some importance with very insignificant and occasionally ridiculous stories.

Talma was born on the 15th of January, 1765, in Paris, where his father was a dentist. He studied diligently in the colleges Louis-le-Grand and Mazarin. His father went to London in the pursuit of his calling, and was joined there for some time by the son, who, however, felt himself drawn to the stage, played in private theatricals, and made himself familiar with Shakspeare. Upon his return to France, for one year he practised the same profession as his father; but his vocation became more and more marked, he took lessons of the best actors of the time, and, after serious study, made his début at the end of the year 1787.

After many conversations with the painter David, he formed the project of a reform in theatrical costumes. Some attempts in that direction had already been made by Mademoiselle Clarion, by Lekain, by Mademoiselle d'Hubert; but the tradition which allowed the actors and actresses to play antique parts in modern costume was still predominant. Talma showed himself for the first time in the tragedy of "Brutus" dressed like a Roman, with a real toga and all the accessories of Roman costume. The public was astonished—half pleased and half shocked. Somebody exclaimed, "Why! how ugly he is! He looks like one of those old statues." The spirit of the Revolution favored reform in the theatre. The speeches of the time are full of reminiscences of Rome and Sparta. David was renovating French art; the study of the nude had become the order of the day. Pikes, liberty caps, attributes of the Consuls, ancient shields, symbolized a new order of things. The delicate art of the eighteenth century fell into contempt: dress, furniture, everything was transformed. On the 4th of November, 1789, Talma appeared in a tragedy by Chénier (brother of the unfortunate poet), called "Charles IX.," in the dress worn by the King, scrupulously copied from the old portraits. The success of this very mediocre piece was prodigious. The comedians of the National Theatre, where it was represented, were not all in favor of the reform; most of them were jealous of Talma, and disliked his very advanced opinions. Talma had to fight a duel with one of them. He left the National Theatre, and, with a fraction of the comedians, opened a rival French Theatre.

In 1791, Talma was married to Julie Careau, a wealthy lady, no longer young (she was born in 1756). She had been a mistress of the Duke d'Orléans and of the Viscount de Ségur. At her hotel in the Rue Chantierine, a present from Ségur, she received Narbonne, Sophie Arnould, Louise Contat, Vestris, Dugazon, Mademoiselle Raucourt. She brought to Talma three houses and two children. She soon had two more children by him. The union was not a happy one; Talma was very extravagant and always in debt; he had the reputation of an "homme à bonnes fortunes," and his wife divorced him after ten years of marriage. On the

6th of February, 1801, the divorce was pronounced "at their mutual request, made in a loud voice"; nothing more was required at the time.

A year afterwards, on the 16th of June, 1802, Talma took a second wife, Charlotte Vanhove, the divorced wife of a theatre musician. She belonged to a theatrical family and had been herself on the stage since 1785. She was imprisoned during the Terror, though she had captivated Robespierre (she says so, at least, in a book which she published long afterwards), and she left her prison only in 1794 to enter the Theatre of the Republic. Talma made her acquaintance at that time; she bore on the stage the name of Madame Petit, that of her first husband. She had by Talma two children, one a son, born in 1814, who entered the army and became a cavalry major. After twenty years of marriage, Talma and his wife separated "à l'amiable." Madame Talma left the stage in 1811; in 1828, she was married, for the third time, to Jacques Antoine, Count de Chabot, who had left the army as cavalry colonel. She published in 1836 a book which it would now be difficult to find, 'Studies on Theatrical Art, followed by inedited anecdotes of Talma.' It is in this book that she alludes to the momentary passion she pretends to have inspired in Robespierre.

Talma, at the time of his marriage with Charlotte Vanhove, had already made a great reputation; he had become, so to speak, the representative of a new school of acting. He was much admired by Napoleon. Talma had met Bonaparte when he was only a lieutenant, and again on his return from Egypt. After the 18th Brumaire the First Consul attended all the representations in which Talma appeared, and had frequent conversations with him. When Napoleon became Emperor, he allowed Talma to come sometimes to see him after breakfast. Occasionally he criticised him; he disapproved the manner in which Talma played the part of Nero. "I should like to find in your play the struggle of a bad nature with a good education. I should like you also to make fewer gestures. . . . I cannot praise sufficiently the simple and natural forms to which you have brought back tragedy. When persons of dignity, whether they owe their elevation to birth or to talent, are agitated by passions or pursue grave thoughts, they certainly speak loftily; but their language ought to be true and natural"; and, after an interruption: "For instance, at this moment we are speaking as people do in conversation. Well, we are making history!" All Napoleon's remarks are characterized by an extraordinary faculty for criticism, and it may plausibly be said that Talma owed much to Napoleon's comments; but people would have it at the time that Napoleon also owed something to Talma, and copied his attitudes.

In 1808, Napoleon ordered Talma and his troupe of actors to join him at Erfurt, where took place his famous interview with Alexander. It was on this occasion that Napoleon told Talma that he was to play before "un parterre de rois." A series of representations took place at Erfurt from the twenty-eighth of September to the thirteenth of October. It began with "Bajazet" and ended with "Cinna." In one of these representations, when the verse was recited—

"L'amitié d'un grand homme est un bienfait des dieux,"

the Emperor of Russia, sitting next to Napoleon, turned towards him and bowed to him; the allusion was felt by all and applauded. In 1813, Talma accompanied Napoleon again for a series of representations given at Dresden. In 1814, we find him, after the return of Louis XVIII., reading on the stage very indifferent verses celebrating the new King; and after Waterloo he accepted a large gratification from Louis XVIII. He was always in money difficulties, and was obliged at various times to give representations in the provinces, in London, in Belgium. After he definitively left the stage in Paris, he continued to play for a time in the provinces. He died on the 19th of October, 1826, in Paris, and was buried in Père Lachaise.

I have had the curiosity to count the plays in which he figured, outside of the great classical tragedies of Racine and Corneille. I found as many as seventy-three. What an effort of memory, what an amount of trouble and fatigue, is represented by this bare number; and of these seventy-three plays, not a single one remains or deserves to remain in the permanent literature of France. Truly, the work of the actor, even of an actor like Talma, has a very disappointing side. The successful actor has intense satisfactions of vanity, but at what a price! And how much truth there is in the admirable pages of Charles Lamb on "The Tragedies of Shakspeare, considered with reference to their fitness for stage representation," written after a turn in the Abbey, where Lamb had been struck by the monument to the celebrated Mr. Garrick!

Correspondence.

A WORD OF APPROBATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to thank you for the editorial in your issue of September 29, entitled "The New York Situation." The feature of your paper that I have most valued, for the many years I have been one of its readers, has been its independence, believing that standing by honest convictions was never to be varied from in favor of party success. This editorial is of value not to the voter of New York State alone, but to every other in the United States who wants to be honest with himself and with his country. Reading it, he should feel thankful that there is one paper, anyway, so straightforward, and take fresh courage for the struggle that is always before us.—Yours, etc., T. J. LE MOYNE.

ISHAM, TENN., October 8, 1904.

Notes.

Macmillan Co. have in preparation a new edition in ten volumes of the Writings of Franklin, edited by Prof. Albert H. Smyth of the University of Pennsylvania. It will contain several hundred new letters and MSS. unknown to former editors. The same firm will issue at once "William Blake: A Study of his Life and Art Work," by Irene Langridge, with fifty reproductions from his chief works.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. are to publish

'Mine and Thine,' poems by Mrs. Florence Earle Coates; and 'Cain: A Drama,' by George Cabot Lodge.

'Romantic Ireland,' by M. F. and B. McM. Mansfield, copiously illustrated by Blanche McManus, is soon to appear from L. C. Page & Co., Boston.

Mr. Jonathan Nield's 'Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales' (London: Elkin Mathews; New York: Putnams) enters upon a third edition with much improved arrangement and with a carefully considered list of "Fifty Representative Novels" for approval or criticism. American publishers as well as English are indicated, if not exhaustively. The index of authors and subjects is retained from the second edition. The collection is avowedly select, tempered by the desire to be as widely embracing of historical periods as possible; to fill gaps, poorer work has been admitted occasionally. Perhaps the fifty list is not unaffected by this leniency. At least we think Fritz Reuter's little gem, 'In the Year '13,' might have been taken in by reason of intrinsic worth, to the exclusion either of Shorthouse's 'John Inglesant' or Besant's 'Dorothy Forster.' Mr. Nield's discursive chats with his readers can but propitiate them.

Mr. R. G. Thwaites's 'Early Western Travels, 1748-1896' (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.) proceeds in volume vii. with a reprint of Alexander Ross's 'Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River' (1849), in connection with John Jacob Astor's expedition to establish the Pacific Fur Company. This is another Lewis and Clark sequel, and possesses no little interest and authority. As the voyage of the *Tonquin*, begun September 6, 1810, was by way of Cape Horn, we have a glimpse of the Sandwich Islanders; and later the Indians of our north Pacific coast are faithfully described—Ross himself took a wife from them. His testimony is, that, "in the wide field of gymnastic exercise, few Indians—I might say none—have been found to cope with civilized man. In all trials of walking, of running, of fatigue, feats of agility, and famine, even in the Indian's own country, he has to yield the palm of victory to the white man. In the trials of the hot bath alone the savage excels." There are some just observations on the want of preparation on the part of missionaries of the day, and their sectarian warfare. At the end of the volume are Chinook vocabularies.

Sidonia V. Johnson's 'Short History of Oregon' finds its justification in the coming centenary of overland exploration. But compendiums have their pitfalls, and the romance of the railroad which opened to the State a continental gateway is here evaporated into these four frigid lines; "When the last spike was driven on the Northern Pacific Railway in 1883, Oregon had direct transcontinental rail connection with the East."

Tolstoy's pronouncement against the war in the Far East, first published in the London *Times*, has just been reprinted for the International Union by Ginn & Co., Boston, and may be had for ten cents ('Be-think Yourselves'). It comes too late, we fear, for a Presidential campaign document, but it will help train the rising generation to abhor all theories of conduct and all public policies which rest upon human combativeness, whether labelled

Imperialism, Expansion, Sea-Power, or the Strenuous Life.

'Westminster Abbey: Painted by John Fulleylove, R.I., Described by Mrs. A. Murray Smith, with 21 full-page illustrations in color' (London: Black; New York: Macmillan), is in point of text a much abbreviated reproduction of the work by the same author entitled 'The Roll-call of Westminster Abbey.' In each, the historical and legendary records of the Abbey, and of the persons whose monuments it contains, form the groundwork of the narrative, which is skilfully enough maintained as a continuous treatise. In the 'Roll-Call' the history and biography are treated very fully; in the present much smaller book many of the same stories are told in briefer form, and there is a closer adherence to the order of the monuments within, and, beginning with page 121, to the exterior of the building, with its details and its subordinate structures. The illustrations are of a character common to the cheaper modern processes of color-printing. They can give satisfaction to nobody as studies of the Abbey within or without. The half-tone prints in the 'Roll-Call' are, of course, much more valuable as a record. It is probable, too, that many persons will think them more comely. A fairly successful photographic print, keeping all its gradations and intelligible in its details, will please where these slight and vague and untraceable prints, no longer pure black and white, and yet not in any true sense of the word color, will repel judicious students.

Max Beerbohm's folio colored pictorial satires, 'The Poets' Corner' (London: Heinemann; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.), boldly introduces Omar with his bored Thou, his bough, his loaf, his jug, and his book in the wilderness; and, despite its implety to the poet, this cartoon is as amusing as any in the book. Others that may raise a smile are Browning taking tea with the Browning Society, Tennyson (focussed large in the foreground) reading "In Memoriam" aloud to Queen Victoria in perspective, and Dante in Oxford. The rest we cannot think inspired humor. They range from Goethe, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Byron to Walt Whitman and Kipling.

Dante's 'De Monarchia' is a book so important, and at the same time so difficult to understand in the original Latin, that a good translation is a boon; not only to the general literary or historical reader, but even to the scholar. Church's version has long been out of print, and Wicksteed's, privately issued, is not readily accessible. There was, therefore, a real call for such a work as Aurelia Henry's 'The De Monarchia of Dante Alighieri,' published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The new translation is a good one; while not quite so literal as Wicksteed's, it is very exact and sufficiently close; and it reads easily; either with or without the Latin text. One might, indeed, if inclined to be hypercritical, find fault with its smoothness, as not accurately reproducing Dante's somewhat crabbed Latin style; it is certainly a relief, however, to be enabled to grasp the author's thought with so little effort. The abundant footnotes show careful research in various fields; they supply the student with a key to the numerous references and citations, an indication of the sources of Dante's philosophical doctrines, and parallel pas-

sages from his other writings—all done in-to English. An index adds to their usefulness. A modest introduction explains Dante's conception of Empire, and sets forth the place of 'De Monarchia' in his life-work. Exception may perhaps be taken to the statement, several times repeated, that the 'Vita Nuova' is essentially a religious treatise. A cautious discussion of the date of composition points toward the period between 1308 and 1313.

The Macmillan Co. is agent for the Cambridge (England) Biological Series of textbooks edited by A. E. Shipley of Christ's College. The latest issue is a 'Natural History of Some Common Animals,' by O. H. Latter, M.A., senior science master at Charter House. The main object of the volume is to set forth the natural history of the animals which usually serve as types of animal structure in elementary courses in biology, especially such as are large enough to be studied without recourse to a microscope. Technicalities are avoided as much as possible, and emphasis is laid on the life histories of the various creatures as well as their structure. The series treated of includes worms and leeches, crayfish, cockroaches, dragon-flies, wasps, the fresh-water mussel, snails, frogs, and some internal parasites. The account of the special type selected is supplemented by a list of the British species of the group to which that type belongs, and a reasonable number of well-selected illustrations are scattered through the text. Though the animals treated of are British, most of them have closely analogous representatives throughout the temperate region, and the book may meet the needs of instructors of biology in America as well as northern Europe. The data furnished, as far as we have tested them, appear to be accurate and well selected, and the little manual may be recommended as well adapted for the purpose its author had in view.

In 'Thirty Years in Madagascar' (A. C. Armstrong & Son) the Rev. T. T. Matthews of the London Missionary Society gives an account of his work, largely educational, among the natives. It is replete with incident, partly humorous, showing both the difficulties in dealing with a childlike people not thoroughly weaned from heathen vices, and a practical, common-sense way of meeting them, which makes the book exceedingly helpful and suggestive to all engaged or interested in similar work. Some of the difficulties are peculiar to the Malagasy, for the conversion to Christianity of large districts was due, not to conviction, but to the fact that it was the religion of their rulers. In many places the pastor of the church was the village chief, chosen for his social standing, not for his fitness for the post. There are also numerous instances, in the sketch of the early history of the island, of a steadfast faith in the face of death, such as has characterized the Christian martyrs of all ages. Much space is given to the story of the French conquest and the attempts to drive out the English missionaries, on the natural supposition that they were inimical to the new régime. This is told largely by quotations from a French writer, and ample justice is shown to the fairness of the Governor-General, Gallieni, and his endeavors to right the wrong done the English and their converts when he became convinced that their aim was in no sense political, but simply

the welfare of the people. The author apparently is unable to give a word-picture of the country and the distinctive characteristics of the natives, but this lack is in a measure supplied by the numerous illustrations, some of which are interesting reproductions of native sketches.

In his fourth volume exhibiting the Japanese system of physical exercise and self-defence, Mr. H. Irving Hancock treats of Japanese feats of attack and defence in personal encounter, under the title 'Jiu-jitsu Combat Tricks' (G. P. Putnam's Sons). Thirty-two photographs reinforce the text. A study of this book, revealing the rougher side of the art, shows why the boxer has such small chance against the agile user of the hand-edge stroke. How to harden the little finger edge of the hand for smiting and disabling purposes, to the power of which competent witnesses can bear testimony, is here explained with the clearness of a practical teacher, who knows vastly more of his art than of Japanese history or general hygienic conditions among men and women of the empire. Many of the tricks here noted may result in death. Lest some may fear that the publication of such craft secrets will provoke in our cities a fresh outburst of criminal personal assault, worse than that of the sandbagger, we remark that four years is the average time of a course in the Japanese training schools.

The September number of the *Library Journal* contains a notable article by Miss A. R. Hasse "On the Classification of Numismatics." Miss Hasse had been asked to work out a system of classification for a collection of literature on archives; in the course of her studies she made some digressions into neighboring regions and stumbled on numismatics, among other topics. She compares the treatment of this science in the Decimal Classification (both in its original simplicity and its international expansion), in Mr. Cutter's Expansive Classification, and in some European library catalogues. From all these the inadequacy of the theoretical classifications became quite apparent. This is a discovery which, we think, most specialists will make in trying to adapt an "ideal" classification to their own specialties. Any attempt to construct a classification of literature out of your own consciousness will result, if not in failure, in some very curious manifestations. Miss Hasse's criticism that both the Decimal and the Expansive schemes are classifications of ideas and not of books is much to the point. Her article should prove interesting to both classifiers and numismatists. Mr. J. C. M. Hanson's article, "Subject-Catalogues or Bibliographies for Large Libraries?" in the same number was originally written for the *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Vereins für Bibliothekswesen*, at the request of its editor, as part of a symposium on the subject. Mr. Hanson argues rightly that not even a very complete collection of special bibliographies can take the place of a well-prepared subject-catalogue of the actual resources of a library.

The *Geographical Journal* for August contains an account of western Uganda, by the Rev. A. B. Fisher, which throws some light on the origin of the natives of that region and their probable contact with ancient civilization. The war-horns, for instance, of the Bahuku, a forest tribe, are minute ivory tusks shaved down and scooped, fam-

ily heirlooms, and handed down from ancient times. "Each had its own peculiar mark: one resembled most clearly the planet Saturn, another the Pleiades, others various hieroglyphic signs. Questioning the folk as to the significant meaning of each, they expressed total ignorance beyond that they were intended for ornamentation by their early fathers." F. J. Lewis shows, with the aid of numerous illustrations and a map, the geographical distribution of vegetation in the basins of the Rivers Eden, Tees, Wear, and Tyne; and Dr. O. Pettersson treats of the influence of ice-melting upon oceanic circulation. Although the subject is of purely scientific interest, he makes the interesting suggestion that a knowledge of the circulation of the Indian Ocean, through surface observations combined with deep soundings as far south as Kerguelen, might furnish a foundation for forecasting the droughts of India.

While Germany has an overproduction of physicians, the reports of the Russian Ministry of the Interior complain of unusual dearth in that country. The *St. Petersburg Medical Weekly* states that at present there are 21,827 physicians in Russia, of whom 21,090 are men and 757 are women. Of these, European Russia has 19,188. Naturally the cities are best supplied—St. Petersburg with 2,272; Moscow with 1,528; Warsaw with 1,043; Kiev with 689; Odessa with 615. In the Caucasus provinces there are 1,224; and in the possessions in central Asia 459. The whole vast Siberia reports only 788. In southern European Russia there are districts where there is no physician for 100 versts around. The reason assigned for this paucity is the poor pay received, physicians being called only in the gravest cases, and many of the common people preferring the service of quacks and superstitious priests. The Military Department complains bitterly that it cannot secure a sufficient number of surgeons for the war. Rather singularly, a decrease in the number of medical students is reported from England also; the number in 1891 having been 2,405 for the United Kingdom, while the latest total enrolment is only 1,538. It will be recollected that Austria recently reported a similar state of affairs.

The first international Congress for the Hygiene of Dwelling Houses and Homes has been called, at the instigation of the French Hygienic Society, to meet in Paris from the 15th to the 20th of October. The premier, M. Combes, has accepted the honorary presidency, and specialists will discuss the various phases of domestic hygiene in six sections. The questions for one section are as to the proper construction of a city house, the garden and the yard, the arrangements for proper supply of air and for winter heating, the disposal of garbage, and the like. Another section will discuss the same question in reference to country homes; a third will discuss the tenement problem; another, schools, etc. The discussions are to be published, and a special house hygienic exhibition will be arranged in connection with the congress. There is already a general International Hygienic Exposition in Paris, running from August to the end of November.

—The current *American Historical Review* is embellished by a delightful "aside" from Mr. Goldwin Smith on "English Poetry and English History." He rapidly runs his fin-

ger down the annals of his country from Chaucer to the present hour, characterizing the poetic output of the several periods, and passing summary judgment here and there on individual writers. Shakspeare's political opinions come in for notice, and his views of "the mystery of existence and the other world." And when Giordano Bruno visited England and became "the centre of an intellectual circle which sat with closed doors, was Shakspeare perchance one of that circle?" The Baconians are dismissed in the sentence, "No person of sense, it may be presumed, doubts that Shakspeare wrote his own plays"; the one strong point in their case being the miracle of the product from such an humble origin and education. Of Pope, Mr. Smith says: "Nothing in its way excels 'The Rape of the Lock,' or, indeed, in its way the translation of the 'Iliad,' little Homeric as the translation is." "Unsurpassed in his own line," too, is Burns, "one of the foremost in the second class of poetry," whose character is too much thrust upon our sympathy. Coleridge, "in his peculiar way, may be said to be about the greatest of Anglican divines." Shelley "is not the first of poets in mental power, but he is, it seems to me, the most purely and intensely poetic." Scott's "Marmion" is "the most truly epic thing in our language." Tennyson "was one of the greatest of poets," and "has been called a great teacher. But he has nothing definite to teach." Matthew Arnold's poetry is "simply high art." Browning's "characteristic poems do not give me pleasure of that sort which it is supposed to be the special function of poetry to give." Finally: "We seem now to have come to a break in the life of poetry in England," and "the phenomenon appears to be common to Europe in general. Is science killing poetic feeling?"

—This number of the *Review* is notable in other ways. Professor Edwin G. Bourne discusses the Naming of America in a comprehensive and judicial manner, and examines incidentally the true relation of Vespuclus to continental discovery. He has a bone to pick with John Fiske for the latter's too ardent advocacy of Varnhagen's views on the subject. Mr. Worthington Ford contributes some notes discovered by him among the Hamilton Papers in the Library of Congress and acutely determined to be those made by Hamilton during the debates in the Federal Convention of 1787. The clue once found, Mr. Ford was enabled to put them in order and compare them with Madison's, as is here done, with the result that many gaps are filled, as in the case of Randolph's remarks on June 1, from which we quote one item: "Seeds of destruction—Slaves—[former Continental army struck out] might be safely enlisted." Under June 6 and 8, there are comments on Madison's theory. "Observe: large districts less liable to be influenced by factious demagogues than small. Note—This is in some degree true but not so generally as may be supposed—Frequently small portions of the large districts carry elections—An influential demagogue will give an impulse to the whole.—Demagogues are not always inconsiderable persons." We may call attention also to excellent papers from first-hand researches on "The First Stage of the Movement for the Annexation of Texas," by Professor George P. Garrison,

and on "Nova Scotia and New England during the Revolution," by Emily P. Weaver. The latter suffers by too exclusive devotion to Nova Scotia as at present bounded. Consequently, the writer has overlooked the Revolutionary manifesto of the New England colonists of the St. John River on May 14, 1766, to be found in Kidder's 'Maine and Nova Scotia' and in the Massachusetts Archives.

—The October *Harper's* opens with Edwin A. Abbey's illustrations to "Othello," to which Mr. Swinburne contributes the critical comment. The violence (shall we call it?) of Mr. Swinburne's enthusiasm for Shakspeare does not abate with years. The dazzling heights of his praise for the author of "King Lear," two years ago, are fairly surpassed when we are told of the author of "Othello" that "it was his and his alone to set before us the tragic problem of character and event, of all action and all passion, of all evil and all good, all natural joy and sorrow and chance and change, in such fulness and perfection of variety, with such harmony and supremacy of justice and of truth, that no man known to historic record ever glorified the world whom it would have been so utterly natural and so comparatively rational to fall down before and worship as a God." This is interesting, but it is only with a latitude of expression such as that of Mr. Swinburne himself that it can pass under the heading of "critical comment." Henry Van Dyke contributes an essay on the "School of Life," somewhat disconnected, as one might expect, from the subject, but interesting for the original flavor of the sugar with which its ethical pellets are occasionally coated. Lucy Scarborough Conant tries in prose to communicate something of the mystic charm of the sea marshes which inspired Sidney Lanier in his most successful poem, the "Marshes of Glynn." We imagine that most readers to whom that phase of the marsh appeals at all, will agree that the nearer approach to the real heart of the subject was made by the poet. The editor continues his championship of "the direct appeal" in literature, the truth of life free of all masquerade. The literature which falls under the domination of this spirit, we are told, is the only literature which marks any real advance over the achievements of the past. The stirring, picturesque drama which forms the ideal of most story writers is good enough in its way, and its execution often displays high artistic power, but it marks no step forward in the path of human culture. The general movement away from the picturesque, of which this literary movement is but a part, is to find its compensation in greater practical utility so far as the outward investiture of life is concerned; the inward life is to get its gain in the greater freedom from external distractions.

—It is a rare thing, during an important campaign, to find together two such presentations of the issues involved as the October *Atlantic* presents from the pens of Samuel W. McCall and Edward M. Shepard. Each supports the party with which he has been connected in the past, but each with the frank admission of serious weaknesses in the political instrument which he feels constrained, under existing circumstances, to employ. The two are substantially at one on the two most important questions

of current political discussion—the tariff and imperialism; Mr. McCall hoping that the Republicans will follow their few more enlightened leaders in tariff reduction and return to their former faith in the rights of man, Mr. Shepard trusting to the force of historic Democratic traditions in both cases, backed by Mr. Parker's known views and forceful character. If the level of political intelligence and candor were generally as high as it is in these two papers, it would be a safe prophecy that one of the writers would soon be governor of his State and the other would occupy a seat in the United States Senate. Frances A. Kellor contributes a careful study of the Intelligence Office as a means of supplying household service. One of the points most forcibly established is the character of many of these offices as active agents in the demoralization of the young women whom they profess to serve. It would seem that philanthropic agencies might well undertake to supply free of charge the means of communication between householders and help, at least to a sufficient extent to make it entirely unnecessary for any self-respecting girl or woman to resort to any agency where she could not be absolutely sure of honest and civil treatment. An article on the Japanese Spirit, by Nobushige Amenomori, is notable for its frank acceptance of the military ideal, and should be suggestive reading for missionary enthusiasts who have so far forgotten their original character as to welcome armed conflict as an entering wedge for Christianity. "Having early realized that, despite the progress of international law and the humanitarian professions of the Powers of the world, might is still right at bottom in the intercourse of nations, Japan has taken to the study of the modern tactics and other military arts and sciences of the West." Japan will evidently wait for the "more convenient day" when Christian nations themselves shall trust less in the big guns and more in the herald of peace and good will.

—The military papers relating to the American Revolution which were deposited in the Royal Institution of Great Britain by M. Morgann, secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, were calendared by the late Benjamin F. Stevens, and the first volume of his calendar is now published by the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission. What Mr. Stevens did on the American portion of the Dartmouth papers, and his wide experience gained in preparing his Facsimiles and his monumental Index of American Papers in European Archives, naturally prepare us for a careful and intelligent treatment of the Carleton manuscripts, or, more properly, the British "Headquarter" papers. Matters of supplies and accounts form a principal feature of this first instalment of the calendar, beginning with a document of 1747, and ending with July, 1779. Each commander turned over to his successor the documents needed to carry on the leading subjects of commissariat, exchange of prisoners, appointments and negotiations with the enemy and the Indians. Consisting, as it does, largely of copies, and lacking in the more personal details that lend so much color to history, the material, though of a very important character, has been little used, even Sparks and Bancroft merely sampling its quality. Mr. Stevens died before the calendar was

in type, but the proofreading has been very well done by Mr. Henry J. Brown, who was so long associated with Mr. Stevens in his historical investigations.

—The most interesting incident recorded in this calendar is the treatment by Congress of the Convention troops. Burgoyne asserts that he was obliged to surrender because his army "would not fight and could not subsist," adding the rather foolish boast that, had his force been British, he would have made his way through Gates's army. But even Burgoyne was surprised at the favorable terms obtained, at the generous treatment of officers and men, and at the "conduct of Gates in showing me his army" after the capitulation. Differences soon arose over the disposition of the Convention troops, and we find General Phillips protesting against the use of the word "prisoners" as applied to them. "We have considered ourselves as passengers under the sanction and virtue of a Treaty, not as Prisoners." Gates blundered, but that does not excuse the subsequent conduct of the Continental Congress in this matter. There is mention of many papers relating to the Hessian troops in America, to the tricks of the British contractors, who would send over bad flour and mouldy bread in spite of inspectors. The Loyalist corps receive notice, including one to be composed only of Roman Catholics. Affairs in the Southern colonies are prominent, and here is to be found an incident connected with an alleged violation of the navigation privileges on the Mississippi. A strike among the carpenters of the Waldeck regiment at Pensacola because of insufficient pay is graphically described in a letter from Brigadier-General Campbell. This "unmilitary conduct" is matched by the difficulties encountered by the contractors in England through combinations of workmen and "all the licentiousness arising from a superabundance of employment."

—The Committee on the relations between Libraries and the Book Trade, which was appointed at last year's conference of the American Library Association, has done some very effective work during the year of its existence. It has confined its attentions to the libraries, and has issued to date eight small but closely printed bulletins of about the size of a postal card, designed to inform librarians how to get books at reasonable prices. They contain addresses of American and English second-hand dealers and dealers in remainders, and tell how to import books from England and how to buy at auction. In choosing this line of activity the committee has taken a very practical step which cannot fail to be effective. Booksellers are merchants, and their object is to make money. If they find that it does not pay to ignore the request that libraries be treated with more consideration than other bookbuyers, they will presumably mend their ways in this respect. The movement to reduce the discount on books began in Germany. The introduction of the cheap book-post in 1873 gave new impetus to the undersellers, and also to the forces which worked to abolish the discount. During the eighties and nineties a determined fight was kept up between the organized booksellers and the isolated undersellers, which ended only in the present century with victory for the Börsenverein

der Deutschen Buchhändler and its affiliated organizations. In Germany as in America the booksellers had particularly antagonized the libraries. In this country the general public seems not to have taken much cognizance of the matter, while in Germany the university men, at least, felt seriously hampered by the new regulations. In the spring of 1903 an Academic Protective Association was founded, and the leader in the movement, Prof. Karl Bücher of the University of Leipzig, issued in the summer, under the auspices of the newly founded association, a book entitled 'Der Deutsche Buchhandel und die Wissenschaft,' which created a perfect storm among the booksellers. He claimed that the book trade had failed to follow the development of modern commerce, that its representatives had tried even to oppose the forces that were transforming it on new lines. The publishing and selling of books was in his eyes merely a commercial and industrial affair like the manufacturing and selling of any other article, while the booksellers always have regarded their craft as more or less of a profession; this claim Professor Bücher ridiculed.

—The booksellers were naturally not long in answering the attack. Their organizations issued formal protests, and the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel* was filled with articles replying to the accusations of the Protective Association and its spokesman. The matter was finally brought to the attention of the Imperial Ministry of the Interior, and an investigation was ordered as part of the investigation of the Trusts which was being conducted in Berlin under the authority of the ministry. Professor Bücher maintained that the book-trade organizations, in their action to abolish the discount on books, partook of the character of a Trust. This the booksellers denied. The proceedings of the investigating commission have been published ('Kontradiktorische Verhandlungen über Deutsche Kartelle, Heft 7: Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler'). It is an interesting volume, and presents the positions of the two opposing sides clearly and forcibly. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the constantly recurring word duels between Professor Bücher and the President of the Börsenverein, Albert Brockhaus, head of the well-known Leipzig firm of F. A. Brockhaus. The personalities of these two men, both powerful and strongheaded, impress the reader the more as the cause for which each is fighting is not selfish with either. The result of the conference was in the main negative. The question whether the Börsenverein was a Trust was not answered, and the opposing parties both held to their former positions. It was finally voted to refer the questions in dispute, particularly the grievances of the libraries, to a special commission of representatives of both sides. The deliberations of this committee, which met in Leipzig, unfortunately resulted in nothing but a sharpening of the differences. After a stormy session the university men left the room.

SCOTCH CONSTITUTIONALISM.—I.

The Unreformed House of Commons. By Edward Porritt. 2 vols. Cambridge (Eng.) University Press; New York: Macmillan.

The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns. By Robert S. Rait. London: Blackie & Son.

Of the many writers on English constitutional history few have paid any adequate attention to the Constitution of Scotland and the way it has affected the constitutional development of the whole United Kingdom. One preëminent merit of Mr. Porritt's 'Unreformed House of Commons' is that it traces the history and explains the characteristics of all the three Parliaments which, before the Reform Bill passed into law, had been merged in the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom. Contrast Hallam's one chapter of not forty small pages dedicated to the Constitution of Scotland with the nine chapters of some 180 large pages which Mr. Porritt devotes to the Scotch Parliamentary system, and you perceive at once how vast is the hiatus left by so conscientious a writer as Hallam in the story of the British Constitution as it existed down to the time of George III. Mr. Rait's succinct, accurate, and interesting 'Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns' supplies just that accurate statement of ascertainable facts with regard to the Scotch Constitution which an ordinary reader may find it difficult to gather from Mr. Porritt's work. A student, at any rate, who reads both Mr. Porritt's treatise and Mr. Rait's brilliant essay will perceive that a study of Scotch constitutionalism raises more than one question which deeply affects the constitutional development of the whole United Kingdom.

Two inquiries force themselves upon the notice of any thoughtful reader: First, How did it happen that the Union with Scotland, though unpopular in both parts of Great Britain, turned out the most successful achievement of English or, more accurately, of English and of Scotch statesmanship? Secondly, Is it true that, from the time of the Union to the passing of the Reform Act (1707-1832), the will of the Scotch people obtained no effective representation in the Parliament at Westminster? To what circumstances, then, is due the success of the Act of Union with Scotland?

Two points may be treated as past dispute. The Act of Union was planned and carried through by the foresight and the vigor of enlightened statesmen. It was not a measure sanctioned by the voice of the people. If in 1707 the modern referendum had been established either in England or in Scotland, the vast majority of Englishmen would have refused to enter into closer union with a nation whom they thoroughly disliked, and the vast majority of Scotchmen would have declined to sacrifice the national independence, the maintenance of which at any cost had for centuries been the pride of Scotland. The British House of Lords was, in the early part of the eighteenth century, a far more intelligent and liberal-minded body than the British House of Commons, but within six years after the passing of the Act of Union the House of Lords rejected a bill for repealing the act by a majority only of four, and the Duke of Argyll was among the minority who voted for the dissolution of the Union.* But if we may be certain that the Act of Union was not sanctioned by the approval of the people, it has been, if judged by its results, the most beneficial triumph of statesman-

ship which is recorded in the annals of the United Kingdom. Sir Walter Scott was by sentiment or affectation a Jacobite, but he has left on record that though, had he belonged to the generation which passed the Act of Union, he would have died to prevent its enactment, yet at the time when he wrote he would have died rather than consent to its repeal.

The conditions which contributed to the extraordinary success of a bold but unpopular policy were many. Two, however, which lie on the surface of Scotch constitutional history have hardly received due attention. The Union with England was at bottom the triumph of the Kirk. There were, of course, many members of the Scotch Church, and a limited number of fanatical Presbyterians, who saw nothing but evil in the creation of a single Parliament at Westminster for the whole of Great Britain. They feared, and, as the policy of the Tories in the later years of Queen Anne showed, feared not without reason, that the surrender of Scotch political nationality might place in peril the independence of the Scotch Church; yet the wisest among the Presbyterians perceived that the Union with England was, for the Church of Scotland, little less than a necessity. In 1707 the restoration of the Stuarts was at least as probable as it could have appeared in 1657, but a restoration meant nothing less than a reaction which would make Jacobites and Episcopalians—or, it might be, Papists—supreme in Scotland.

The cry for the repeal of the Union was, as far as Presbyterians were concerned, caused in great part by legislation which in Anne's later years was dictated by high churchmen and Tories. The Hanoverian succession secured Scotchmen against attacks on the Church of Scotland, and Scotch Presbyterians became from that moment consistent if not enthusiastic supporters of the Union. The Church Assembly, moreover, had, as long as there was no restoration of the Stuarts and no union with England, but one possible rival in Scotland. This rival was the Scotch Parliament. During the eighteen years which followed the Revolution of 1688, the Parliament became a real and independent power in the land. Its position may be compared, and also contrasted, with the position of the Irish Parliament during the eighteen years of legislative independence from 1782 to 1800. Could any one be sure that a sovereign Parliament in Scotland might not rival and curtail the moral authority of the Church Assembly? The disappearance of the Parliament left the Assembly without a rival among Scotch institutions. Is it not at least probable that ecclesiastical statesmen who guided the Assembly did not deeply regret the disappearance of the national Parliament?

The Scotch Parliament was never, at any rate before 1688, the embodiment or representative of Scotch national sentiment. To an Englishman it seems almost incomprehensible that the ancient Parliament of Scotland should not have been as much to a patriotic Scotchman as the ancient Parliament of England was to every patriotic Englishman, or even, as in 1782, was the Parliament of Ireland to the Irish people; yet, like all the paradoxes of history, the failure of the Scotch Parliament to become the chosen representative of Scotch nationalism is the result of historical facts. The

Parliament was, as Mr. Rait well insists, never the sovereign power; it was not in reality part of the sovereign power; it was an instrument of government; its function was in truth to ratify the acts and the legislation of the person or body who, at a given moment, was the true ruler of the nation. At one time the King, at another moment a noble house, or a body of nobles, at another period the Church as represented by the Church Assembly, might command the support of the people and be the true sovereign of the country. The function of the Parliament was to register the sovereign's decrees. From one point of view, indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to assert that the Scotch Parliament resembled rather a French Parlement than the Parliament of England. Its legislation, which was often admirable, lay in the hands of a committee—the "Lords of the Articles"—which put into form laws approved of by the true sovereign, whether it was the King or the Church Assembly. As a merely representative body, the Parliament was so strangely constituted as to represent far less truly the genuine wishes of the nation than might a patriotic King or than assuredly often did the Church Assembly. Hence popular admiration and loyalty turned in Scotland towards the Crown or towards the Assembly, but never—at any rate before 1688—towards the Parliament. The Stuarts, with all their faults, never failed to obtain the devotion of zealous followers. The Church of Scotland after the Reformation became at every great crisis the true representative of all that was highest and most spiritual in Scotland. To this day cool-headed Scotchmen will grow very hot in defence of Mary Stuart's innocence and virtues; at this very moment an ecclesiastical question affecting the whole status of the Free Church excites more interest in Scotland than any question of legislation or of national policy. But never has one met with any Scotchman who warmed with enthusiasm for the Scotch Parliament. Hence, to the ordinary Scotchman, the transference of parliamentary representation from Edinburgh to Westminster caused a less shock than might have been expected to the patriotic sentiment of an ordinary Scotchman. The Church Assembly, the law courts, all the institutions in which he was really interested, remained unchanged. He had for more than a hundred years been accustomed to the residence of the King in London; he had never had any real concern with the election of members of Parliament. It was at least as easy to cherish feelings of patriotic loyalty towards a Stuart in exile as towards a Stuart living at Whitehall. Nothing was changed except the presence at Edinburgh of a Parliament which, until 1688, had not excited keen interest in the minds of Scotchmen.

Of the material benefits which the Union brought in the long run to Scotland there can be no doubt; but, as a student of Mr. Porritt's book will see, these benefits accrued but slowly. For a time it was arguable that the Union was a failure. Its success was to a great extent due to two considerations. It gave security to the Scotch Church as well as peace to the Scotch people. If it destroyed the ancient Parliament of Scotland, it did not put an end to any institution which commanded the fervent loyalty or embodied the patriotism of the people of Scotland.

*See Mackinnon, 'The Union of England and Scotland,' pp. 424-431.

RUSSIA'S GREATEST COMPOSER.

Das Leben Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky's.
Von Modest Tchaikovsky. Leipzig: P.
Jurgenson. Vol. I. Pp. 539.

"Do you know, I am not acquainted with any one who is more infatuated with little mother Russia than I am. The verses of Lermontoff which you sent me characterize our country very well, but only one side of it; namely, that intimate charm which lies in the unassuming, somewhat destitute and poverty-stricken, but open and spacious nature. I go farther than that. I passionately love the Russian people, the Russian language, Russian sentiments, the beauty of the Russian face, and Russian manners."

The note of patriotism sounded in these lines is repeated again and again in the letters of Russia's greatest composer which his brother Modest has incorporated in this most valuable and entertaining biography. When Tchaikovsky for the first time left Russia, as interpreter for a wealthy tourist, he wrote to his father: "The passing of the boundary line was a highly poetic and solemn moment. We all crossed ourselves, and the last Russian sentry gave us a 'Godspeed' and made a significant gesture with his hand." Later in his life the patriotic feeling—augmented by homesickness—was often so strong as to prevent him from enjoying the charms of other countries. At Clarens, on Lake Geneva, he writes that the Swiss mountains make him long, after a few days, for the plains, the open horizon, the limitless distances of Russia; at San Remo, while promenading among the olive trees, palms, oranges, heliotropes, and jasmines, he is seized by a sudden impulse to hasten to his room and write a letter expressing his longing for the woods and villages, the fields and steppes, of his native country. At Venice, in November, 1877, he was very angry at the evidences of strong feeling against the Russians shown by the newspapers. One day he bought a copy of the *Gazzetta di Venezia* of a man who was shouting, "Vittoria del Turchi." A glance showed him that a hundred Russians had been routed somewhere, so he angrily asked the seller: "Where is the victory? Do you call that a defeat?" The following day, when all the other news venders were again announcing a Turkish victory, he came across the same man, who accommodately shouted: "Gran combattimento à Plevna, vittoria dei Russi!"

While thus fond and proud of his country, Peter Ilyitch (as his brother always calls him in these pages) treated his aristocratic descent, on his father's side, in a sarcastic if not contemptuous manner, though he rejoiced in its being unmistakably Russian. It must have been a trial to him to know that his mother's father was half-German, half-French, though possibly to this he owed his genius. His domestic affections were as strong as his patriotic feelings; separation from his parents, his sister, his brothers, often makes him weep, and, with one exception, most of his letters are addressed to them. The names of his sister and brothers—Alexandra, Anatole, Modest—always appear in these letters in the endearing diminutives "Sasha," "Toli," "Modi." When his mother left him the first time, he had to be separated from her by force, and then he ran after the wagon and tried to seize the wheels to stop them. He had the great grief of losing her when he

was only fourteen years old. She died of cholera, the same disease to which he himself succumbed thirty-nine years later. Judged by her picture, she must have had beautiful black eyes; her face is remarkably good-natured and motherly. It was she who gave him his first music lessons, before he was five years old; but it was an orchestrion which gave him his first musical impressions. This mechanical organ played, among other things, tunes by Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini, and it was probably due in part to early associations that Tchaikovsky continued to love this music to the end of his life, though his own was so utterly unlike it.

In those days music played a very insignificant part in Russian life. There were no local concerts of importance even in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the only opportunity to hear good singers or a good orchestra and chorus was at the Italian Opera. It is therefore rather surprising to find that Tchaikovsky's father should from the beginning have favored his predilection for music, and offered no opposition to his choosing a career that gave so little promise of success or prominence. He did put him into a school of jurisprudence established for boys of the middle aristocracy; but when Peter found his studies distasteful, and more and more followed his natural bent, the father interposed no veto, but actually encouraged his choice, even although he showed, after his son had become famous, that he would have preferred distinction for him in official life. Where Peter Ilyitch got his talent is a mystery which his brother is unable to solve; none of his ancestors, so far as known, had ever shown any gift in that line or any enthusiasm for the art. His father was very fond of the drama; up to the age of eighty he frequented the theatre, and was often moved to tears; but as for music, the fact that he played the flute and bought an orchestrion speaks for itself. It is strange, too, that while Tchaikovsky, as a mere boy, soon learned to repeat the orchestrion's tunes on the piano and to improvise pieces of his own, his first professional teacher declared, after a three years' trial, that it would be a great mistake for him to choose a musical career. For the first two years in the law school, moreover, though he did not give up playing, he refers to music only twice in his letters. In short, he was destined, like nearly all the prominent Russian composers, to come to his art after devoting part of his life to another specialty. Usually such a course results in a lack of technical mastery and facility, but Peter Ilyitch was a born manipulator of tones; the trouble, in fact, with his early works, is that he wrote them with too much facility—the easy writing which makes dull hearing.

It was most fortunate for the cause of music that the failure to get a promotion he had hoped for early in his career as a Government official caused Tchaikovsky to turn his back on it and to enter the newly founded Conservatory at St. Petersburg. Here he benefited particularly by the instruction and friendship of Anton Rubinstein, concerning whom this biography gives some characteristic details. Rubinstein spoke several languages, but none quite correctly, not even the Russian. His lectures were improvisations; five minutes before he began them he had apparently no definite plan in his mind; and while their substance

was admirable, their literary form was "beneath criticism." He had a habit of assigning his pupils odd tasks: Tchaikovsky was asked one day to arrange one of Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas for orchestra in four different ways; and when the pupil chose the English horn and other unusual instruments and combinations for one of them, the teacher was very angry with him. Rubinstein carefully taught his pupils the use of the modern orchestral apparatus, but in the expectation that they would, like himself, avoid it in their works and confine themselves to the practices of the masters of the "classical" epoch. He never expressed any liking for Tchaikovsky's compositions, but he was fond of him personally, helped him to get private pupils, and when Nikolai Rubinstein—Anton's brother—wanted an instructor in harmony for the Moscow Conservatory, of which he was the director, Anton recommended his talented young pupil, who promptly accepted and went to that city, which for the next eleven years became his home.

The primitiveness of Russian musical life at this period is illustrated by the fact that Tchaikovsky, as professor of harmony at the Moscow Conservatory, received at first only 50 rubles a month. The first month's salary had to be spent for a new suit of clothes, which the director insisted he needed, tidiness not being one of his virtues. Nikolai Rubinstein at once took such a great fancy to his brother's pupil that he made him live with him; he gave him presents, and took care of him "like a nurse," in Tchaikovsky's own words. There were disadvantages in dwelling in the director's rooms—he had many visitors, who disturbed his protégé when he was composing; but it was not till Tchaikovsky was thirty-two years old that he succeeded in breaking away and making a little home of his own—to his great satisfaction, for the trait which in later years made him a hermit was already well established. N. Rubinstein remained his friend to the end of his life; a friend who, on occasion, did not hesitate to exercise the right of criticism. Another of his friends who made use of this right was the well-known critic Laroche. He sometimes went too far, and on one occasion he hurt the sensitive composer's feelings so much that the friendly relations were broken off for years; but it was Laroche who first foresaw that Tchaikovsky was the coming man in Russia. Concerning other men prominent in the musical life of St. Petersburg and Moscow our biographer has many interesting things to say and to cite; his volume, in particular gives one a more intimate knowledge of the real aspirations and achievements of the "new Russian school" than any book so far published for those who cannot read Russian. Tchaikovsky had a great admiration for some of the works of Rimsky-Korsakoff in particular; the sincerely complimentary yet frankly critical letters these two men exchanged are cited in full. Balakireff gave his younger contemporary useful advice, which, however, especially so far as it related to Liszt, was not always followed. Liszt was the real idol and model of the young Russians, who vied with one another in attempts to outdo him in harmonic boldness. Tchaikovsky strongly disapproved the extravagance of some of these men; yet, without having the slightest tal-

ent for diplomacy, he managed to keep on good terms with them. He believed it was but fair to give them a chance, and they retaliated by producing his works on their programmes.

Modest Tchaikovsky states in his preface that the material on which his biography is based includes 4,112 letters written by his brother, and 6,137 letters written to him by 807 persons. This invaluable material has enabled him to give his book all the charm of an autobiography. To judge by the large number of the letters by and to the composer included in this first volume of 539 pages (in the German version made by Paul Juon), most of the letters in question, with one notable exception, are by and to men. Woman plays a most peculiar rôle in his life. That he was not blind to feminine charms is indicated by a sentence in a letter written shortly after he had become a professor in the Moscow Conservatory: "Yesterday I attended the entrance examination; there were many pretty young girls." Once he discovered a niece "more beautiful than any woman I have ever seen," as he writes to one of his brothers; "I must confess that my mind is much concerned with her, which gives Rubinstein occasion for the most tiresome remarks. Whenever we appear at Tarnovsky's I am teased about her." More serious than this episode was his only real love affair, his infatuation with the well-known opera singer Désiré Artôt. He raves over her voice, her art, her grace, and other personal charms, though he admits she is not really beautiful. To his father he writes: "I love her with all my heart and all my soul, and it appears to me impossible to live on without her." The pugnacious of being a "prima-donna husband" does not frighten him, for he intends to continue his career as composer just as she does her career on the stage. The father is willing, and so is the prima-donna; but shortly after she has left Moscow, news comes of her sudden marriage to another man! Tchaikovsky does not appear to have been crushed by this tragic ending of his romance. The two remained friends, and he continued to admire her art; and when she returned to Moscow a year later, a friend who sat next to him at the opera house wondered why he kept his opera glass levelled at the prima donna, as he could not have seen her because of the tears in his eyes.

The other two women who count in his life belong in the realm of actuality which is stranger than fiction. In August, 1876, he suddenly writes to Modest: "I have decided to marry. This is irrevocable." A month later: "I have been thinking of my future; the result is my firm resolution to enter into the state of matrimony with some one or other." Obviously a mere resolution of his intellect; and, what is worse, he confesses that the thought of the change from his cosy, solitary home makes him shudder! But, shudder or not, marry he must. In the following May he became engaged. Chance furnished the bride. One day he received a letter from a girl whom he had met before, confessing that she loved him. "The letter," he writes in a subsequent confession to Mme. N. F. von Meck, "was so cordial, so warm in tone, that I decided to answer it—a course I had hitherto carefully avoided in similar cases." "Her name is Antonina Ivanovna Milkuyova, her

age twenty-eight, and she is quite pretty, too; her reputation is untarnished. She lives—from love of independence—alone, although she has a fond mother. She is absolutely poor, and of a medium stage of culture; apparently, too, she is of a kind and affectionate disposition." This is how he relates the story of his courtship:

"When I met her I repeated that in return for her love I could offer her nothing but sympathy and gratitude. But later on I began to reflect on the absolute frivolity of my conduct. If I do not love her, if I do not wish to fan her flame into a still warmer feeling—I said to myself—why did I call on her, and how can this end? From her next letter I concluded that I had gone too far; that, if I were to suddenly turn away from her, I should make her really unhappy and drive her into the arms of a tragic fate. Thus I saw myself placed before a trying alternative: either I preserved my liberty, at the cost of a human life, or I married. I could not but choose the latter. Therefore I went one fine evening to my future wife, confessed to her frankly that I could not love her, but that I would remain her devoted and grateful friend; I described my character to her in detail—my irritability, my changeable temperament, my antipathy to mankind, and, finally, my financial situation. Then I asked if she would be my wife. The answer was, of course, in the affirmative. The horrible tortures I have suffered since that evening cannot be described. Quite naturally, too. To remain for thirty-seven years with an inborn antipathy to marriage, and then to be suddenly forced by circumstances into it, without being in the least charmed by the bride, is terrible."

The consequence of this amazing marriage was that, after a short period, it was followed by a separation for life. "A few days more and I swear I should have gone insane." There was no quarrel; the composer struggled, as he writes, "to recognize all her good qualities," and she prepared a home for him which he liked and occupied a short time. The only light the biographer sheds on the situation is that he speaks of "an abyss of misunderstandings between the two."

A much pleasanter story is that of Tchaikovsky's relations with another woman—a friendship which changed the whole course of his life, and to which the world of art is indebted as much as it is to that between Richard Wagner and Frau Wesendonck. Yet it is almost as strange a story as that of his marriage. He was, like Wagner, improvident; when he had plenty of money, which was seldom the case, he squandered it. His income from teaching and royalties gradually reached 3,000 rubles a year, but he had debts, had a habit of borrowing of his publisher (*à la Wagner*), and yet was always hard up. Through one of his pupils this state of affairs came to the knowledge of a widow, Madame von Meck, whose husband had left her estates worth millions. She was a most enthusiastic admirer of Tchaikovsky's compositions, which affected her more deeply than any other music, and she was eager to help him. Entering into correspondence with him, she begged him to make various arrangements of his pieces for her use, for which she paid extravagant sums; she liquidated his debts, and finally pressed on him an annuity of 6,000 rubles, to enable him to devote himself entirely to composition. Her only stipulation, all this time, was that the composer should make no attempt ever to meet her: "There was a time when I was very eager to know you; but now, the more you enchant me, the more I dread making

your acquaintance; I prefer to think of you at a distance, to hear you speak in your music, and to share your feelings." Her request was strictly complied with. At one time we actually have the romantic and amusing situation—which Dumas and Stockton in partnership could hardly have improved on—of Tchaikovsky residing, by special invitation, for several weeks, in Mme. von Meck's princely villa at Braillov, with her servants and everything else at his disposal, while she remains in the city enjoying the delightful letters he writes from her place!

The correspondence between this noble woman and the greatest Russian composer is so extensive that, as our biographer intimates, it may some day be published in a special volume. It is to be hoped it will, for it is of extraordinary interest. Copious selections from it are given in the present volume, and they constitute its most entertaining as well as its most valuable pages. To this appreciative woman Tchaikovsky opened his heart as he did to no one else, telling her of his works, his method of composing, his moods, his love of nature and solitude, his health, his religion, and his opinions of other composers. Those who have read this first volume will await its continuation with eager interest.

Maria Edgeworth. By the Hon. Emily Lawless. (English Men of Letters Series.) The Macmillan Co.

Miss Lawless writes with a frank disregard for precedents. She appears either to have forgotten that criticism of the author's work has always had a prominent place in contributions to the "English Men of Letters Series," or else decided that her author has had enough of that, and so mostly made up her book of matter more immediately interesting to herself. She does briefly notice some of the novels and tales, expressing a few rather positive opinions about their comparative merit—opinions always based on personal taste, without reference to canons of criticism or accepted literary standards. There are occasional intimations of a suspicion that something deemed essential is being slighted, and, on the last pages, a few sentences of delightfully Irish construction, explaining that the writer has not wished to exalt Miss Edgeworth's literary performance, but "to show the woman rather than the wit, the moralist, or anything else of the sort."

The evidence of design is, however, never striking in Miss Lawless's intimately Irish, happy-go-lucky account of what she has read, heard, and thought about her famous countrywoman, about people she lived with and knew, and even about some with whom her connection was very slight. Maria's remote ancestors and her father, Robert Lovell Edgeworth, receive much attention. Miss Lawless is always in a state of irritation with Mr. Edgeworth, because she thinks that he blighted his daughter's imagination, but her irritation helps to make her description of that unconsciously humorous philosopher very lively. In fact, it is plainly her own enjoyment of the case that leads her to dwell upon his love affairs, his experiments in the education of youth and in mechanical invention, his friendship for Mr. Day, revered author of "Sandford and Merton," and many other oc-

cupations of a long, phenomenally active, and perfectly virtuous life. Miss Lawless recognizes Mr. Edgeworth's extraordinary fascination for women (a fascination strangely incompatible with such shining virtue), which procured him four wives in rather scandalously rapid succession—one at least, Miss Honora Sneyd, a distinguished beauty—and all above the average in good looks, accomplishments, and character. So fatal was his charm that, according to his own statement, shortly after the death of his first wife (Maria's mother) "it was found absolutely necessary by his hostess to drink Mrs. Edgeworth's health in order to dissipate any unwarrantable hopes which might have arisen on his account." His children fell under the spell, and of a family numbering twenty-two we hear of only one who resisted. This insensible youth, Richard (Maria's brother), hated the educational experiments of which he was the victim, came to hate every sort of education and all the smiling order and decorum of the Edgeworth home; so at an early age he disappeared into space, and is heard of only once thereafter, roaming still, vaguely, in America. Maria honored her father supremely, her four mothers scarcely less, and in her case the promise of the fifth commandment was fulfilled, for she lived eighty-two years in the land that the Lord her God had given her.

Miss Lawless's feeling about the extent and uniformly destructive influence of Mr. Edgeworth on his daughter's work, is rather hotly stated:

"Even when not guiding her pen—a piece of parental presumption of which he was perfectly capable—in spirit he hovered over it. . . . Wherever, in her case, the didactic impulse is seen to distinctly overpower the creative one; wherever we find Utility lauded to the skies as the only guide of an otherwise foundering humanity; above all, wherever we find an enormous emphasis laid upon the necessity at all times and places of a due subordination of the feminine to the masculine judgment, there we may feel sure that we are upon his track, and that such sentiments were uttered primarily with a view to the approbation of the domestic critic. . . . He not merely accentuated, he actually lifted into the light of a solemn duty, the most serious of Maria Edgeworth's mental failings—a lack, namely, of imagination."

This is holding Mr. Edgeworth too severely responsible for being his daughter's father. He did not need to guide her pen. She did not resent his didacticism, but, on the contrary, perfectly sympathized with it, and seems to us to have taken great personal satisfaction in the laudation of virtue. 'Castle Rackrent' is the only one of her tales that we know in which she successfully resists the desire to preach or to distort human nature for the pleasure of inculcating a moral platitude or of bringing about an edifying end. Miss Lawless wonders how Mr. Edgeworth kept his fingers out of that pie, but we feel that both father and daughter had one rare moment of clear artistic vision, and that, before that faded, the publisher had the manuscript in his possession.

Miss Lawless thinks that 'Castle Rackrent' is the "best Irish novel or tale that has yet seen the light." It is not a novel, or anything like a novel, but a tale told with great spirit and authority, fresh as if it had been written yesterday, and alas! far more witty and genial than anything likely to have been written yesterday. Among the

tales for children, Miss Lawless has some favorites which she praises, and she treats the tales of fashionable life as on the whole a negligible quantity, because she doesn't care for them. She notes with justice Miss Edgeworth's superiority to her otherwise immensely superior contemporary, Miss Austen, in the portraiture of a lady of fashion; but she fails to point out that the characterization of Lady Delacour in 'Belinda,' up to the point where she succumbs to Miss Portman's rage for reform, takes rank with the best portraits of a woman in our fiction. On Miss Edgeworth's place in the history of English fiction Miss Lawless is silent, leaving it to a reviewer to mention that she was one of three maiden ladies who, about the end of the eighteenth century, determined that the English novel should be "pure," and who dedicated and practically chained it to decency—almost to domesticity—for more than half a century. As a writer of tales of the people, her influence extended from Scott to Turgeneff, and has been universally acknowledged.

Of Miss Edgeworth "as a woman" the picture is pleasant and sympathetic, but not complete. Sydney Smith said of her, when she was nearly eighty: "She does not say witty things, but such a perfume of wit runs through all her conversation as makes it very brilliant." FitzGerald describes her when very old as "lively, active, and cheerful as if she were about twenty. Really a very entertaining person." When Scott met her in 1823, he was delighted with her, as for years he had been with her books. Miss Lawless quotes these tributes from the great, but it has not occurred to her to show her "woman" in the act of winning them. Something is done for characterization by the introduction of letters hitherto unpublished—sprightly, natural letters; though one need not agree with Miss Lawless in the opinion that they "are perhaps the very best ever written by a woman in English." Besides these letters of Miss Edgeworth's, several written by a younger sister describing Sir Walter Scott's visit to Edgeworthstown in 1825 appear in print for the first time.

Oddly enough, on closing the book, one is not thinking of Miss Edgeworth, but of Miss Martin, beautiful and unfortunate daughter of the Martins of Ballinahinch. Miss Edgeworth in her old age, making a journey in the west of Ireland, stayed with the Martins. This circumstance interests Miss Lawless "for strictly personal reasons." So she characteristically dashes into the story of Mary Martin, a story of startling anti-thesis, not easily forgotten. The phrase "for strictly personal reasons" nicely expresses Miss Lawless's guiding motive, and though the result is a book hardly fair to a famous novelist, there are many and ample compensations for the reader.

Old Clocks and Watches, and their Makers:

Being an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Different Styles of Clocks and Watches of the Past, in England and Abroad. To which is added a list of ten thousand makers. By F. J. Britten. Second edition, much enlarged. London: B. T. Batsford; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904.

'Former Clock and Watchmakers, and their Work,' by F. J. Britten, author of

'The Watch and Clockmakers' Handbook,' first appeared in 1894. Altogether, more than 300 new illustrations and the names of 2,000 makers have been added to the present reissue; the reading matter has been divided into chapters, and the section on long-case clocks has been entirely rewritten. Time, and early time recorders such as sundials, clepsydræ or water-clocks, wick and lamp timekeepers, and sand-glasses, are followed by weight-clocks. "So many vague and contradictory records, exist as to the invention of clocks composed of an assemblage of wheels actuated by a weight, that any attempt to fix the exact date of their introduction would be mere guess-work." The invention of a portable timekeeper was accomplished by Peter Hanlein or Hele, a clockmaker of Nuremberg, shortly after 1500, although the article was not in general use for a long time afterwards. Specimens of all periods, from the earliest down to the more recent, are described and illustrated, and it is possible to trace the gradual development of the timepiece as we know it, from the crude and cumbersome, though often beautifully wrought and decorated, watches used by our forefathers. "The grotesque and uneven cases applied to most of the early watches clearly rendered them unsuitable for the pocket." This caused the introduction, possibly by the Puritans, of the fob, from the German *Fuppe*, "a small pocket." A short "fob" chain, with a watch of Oliver Cromwell's, is in the British Museum—the first of the kind known.

Chapter V. contains the records of early makers, commencing with Nicholas Cratzer, a Bavarian, born in 1487, "deviser of the King's horologies and astronomer" to Henry VIII. From 1631, when the charter of the Clockmakers' Company was granted by Charles I. to those of the craft who were dissatisfied with their connection with the ancient guild of Blacksmiths, the records, with few exceptions, are those of prominent members of the "Fellowship of the Arts or Mystery of Clockmaking of the City of London," of whose regulations a short sketch is given. To the company's credit, it recognized the suitability of watchmaking as a vocation for women towards the close of the seventeenth century, and in 1715 it sanctioned the admission of a few female members, as also the taking of female apprentices. An account of the Paris guild, and descriptions of "French Clocks and Cases in the French Style, and other Curious Timekeepers," is followed by a chapter, with numerous illustrations, on "The Progression of English Domestic Clocks." The first in common use were of the lantern or bird-cage pattern, supported on brackets, which gradually developed into the bracket, pedestal, or mantel clock. At first they were all made with only one hand, and with thirty-hour movements; the escapement with vertical verge and a balance being used as the controlling medium. About 1658 the pendulum was introduced, quickly superseding the balance and leading to the construction of the long-case variety now familiarly termed "grandfather." The introduction into England of cheap American clocks was disastrous to the old ones, "and between 1850 and 1860 thousands of good serviceable long-case timekeepers were sacrificed, the cases being chopped up for fire-wood and the substantial brass movements consigned to the melting-pot." Chauncey

Jerome, in his 'Life Written by Himself,' describes the venture of sending a consignment of brass clocks to Old England. They were promptly seized at the Custom House as undervalued, and the Government exercised their "right to purchase the property by adding 10 per cent. to the invoice price." They paid cash for this cargo and for another invoice arriving a few days after, but, "on the arrival of the third lot, they began to think they had better let the Yankees sell their own goods, and passed them through unmolested."

The next chapter is devoted to the mechanism of clocks and watches, but no mention is made of the numerous inventions and improvements on this side of the Atlantic, which had such an effect on the trade in the first half of the last century. The various duties, taxes and licenses, so disastrous to the manufacturers and even owners, are described, and tables of the hall-marks are given, but the marking of foreign watch cases imported into England is ignored, although Francis Upjohn is mentioned as suggesting "distinctive marks on foreign watches, 1780-87." Since 1739 the maker's mark on gold or silver cases has been the initials of his Christian and surname, generally without any shield, as in the case of marking plate.

The remainder of the work is taken up with a list of "Former Clock and Watch-makers," most important to those who collect old clocks and watches, or who may be the fortunate possessors of them. It occupies more than 175 pages, containing the names of 10,000 makers, derived from various sources for which credit is given, with the possible exception of those of American makers, many of these being evidently taken from Miss Singleton's 'Furniture of Our Forefathers.' This list is not intended as a guide to makers of to-day, as, "after 1842, the names are given only of those above mediocrity, or concerning whom some peculiarity is known and who have ceased to carry on business." Among the early American makers noted are James Harrison, of Waterbury, Conn., "founder of the wooden-clock industry, 1790-1830"; Thomas Perry, 1750, and Isaac Heron, 1770 (both freemen of the city of New York, the only ones mentioned); Hiram Hunt, Robinson, Me., "said to have been the original 'Sam Slick' of Haliburton"; Theodore (Thomas?) Harland, Norwich, Conn.—"to him was apprenticed Ely Terry in 1786"; Calvin (Silas?) Hoadley, Plymouth, Conn., an associate of Terry; Chauncey Jerome, pupil of Terry; Seth Thomas, another of Terry's pupils, and, later, some of the founders of the large watch companies at Waltham and Elgin. Joseph Bonfanti, 1823, and Kerner & Paff, 1796, of New York, were not in any sense makers; the former kept a "Fancy Store," the latter firm a "Music Store."

Mr. Britten's work is a perfect mine of information; it is fully illustrated, well printed, and has a fair index.

Classical and Foreign Quotations. Compiled by W. Francis H. King, M.A., Oxford. 3d edition, revised and rewritten. London: J. Whitaker & Sons; New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1904.

The manner in which this valuable and standard book of reference has been overhauled for its perfecting is detailed in the

preface. It may be illustrated in the case of a short letter (G), which in the second edition had fifty items, and now has twenty-seven. This has been effected by the omission of eight mottoes of the British peerage and of twenty-four other quotations, while one has been shifted to another portion of the book. To offset this shrinkage there have been only ten additions. The bulk of the present volume is, therefore, inferior to that of its predecessors: 3,142 to 5,362 items. The slaughter of the peerage mottoes has been absolute throughout the work. Typical, also, are two examples dropped under G, "Guerre à outrance," "Gratia placendi," which belong rather to French and Latin dictionaries. On the other hand, one may regret the editor's rejecting among the "cumbersome top-hammer" the Ovidian "Gutta cavat lapidem," etc., which, by the way, in previous editions, was not accompanied by the form occurring (if our memory serves us) in an inscription in 'The Initials'—

"Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo."

From this instance we conclude that the judicious will not throw away the older editions, but will retain them side by side with the latest. Finally, the minuteness of the revision appears in the very first line of G, which reads: "Gallus in sterquilino suo plurimum potest." It now reads: "Gallum . . . posse."

Without further verification for ourselves, we report Mr. King's account that citations from the French are much more numerous than heretofore, the German nearly doubled (there is a stanza from Faust omitted under G, a couplet added), the Italian and Greek likewise extended. That the Greek should be, answers an English rather than a cis-Atlantic need, where quotation from the Greek even in books is on the wane. Mr. King himself quotes from 'Endymion': "Charles Fox used to say as to quotation: 'No Greek . . .'; and reports that the oratorical practice of embellishment from this language, as from Latin, "has fallen into desuetude." The literary practice, too, we should affirm, in the United States, where Greek is no longer a needful approach to a college education. The Greek index, we remark, stands (for obvious typographical reasons) by itself. The English index is common to all the tongues using the Roman alphabet. There is also an English subject-index covering the whole work; but it still requires a pretty search to learn if a phrase, proverb, or bonmot is contained in this collection. It could hardly be otherwise.

On the whole, the tendency in revision has been to enlarge the historical or parallel comment; e. g., "Ne plus ultra" is allowed two lines in the second edition, but gets fourteen in the third. Moreover, it is re-alphabetized, appearing as "Nec (or Ne or Non) plus ultra"; and the definition is wholly altered. "No further can be done. The highest possible degree, perfection, greatest attainment" becomes "Farther than this you cannot go. Thus far and no farther. Unsurpassed." Such rectifications and amplifications (still more strikingly exemplified under *Mors*) are of the sort which we may fairly attribute to the collaboration of Mr. Ferdinand Hoffmann of Stockbridge, Mass., whose assistance is acknowledged not merely preëminently in the preface, but in the dedication to one "whose learning is

only equalled by the liberality with which it is placed at the disposal of others."

It remains to mention the enlargement of this handsome book from duodecimo to octavo, and to notice the grouping, under the head "Adespota," of more than a hundred quotations transferred from the ranks of the second edition in order to facilitate research for their paternity. Among these are such familiar friends as "Ars celare artem," "C'est plus qu'un crime, c'est une faute," "Corruptio optimi pessima."

In English Homes: The Internal Character, Furniture and Adornments of Some of the Most Notable Houses of England, Historically Depicted from Photographs Specially Taken by Charles Latham. London: George Newnes; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Folio, pp. xxxii., 421.

This is a collection of half-tone pictures from the pages of *Country Life*, the London periodical, some of the plates measuring 8x11 inches actual inside measurement, and none smaller than the width of the folio page. The original photographs are all ascribed to one who has been for many years recognized as an excellent maker of architectural and other out-of-door plates.

The book announces itself as being, in a way, a substitute for that admirable and well-known collection, 'The Mansions of England in Olden Times,' by Joseph Nash, which book—difficult now to procure, in its original state, that of four thin folios with beautiful lithographs from Nash's own drawings—is praised in the introduction to the present work with only such suggestions of its lack of perfect accuracy as the photographer naturally applies to the artistic and enthusiastic architectural draughtsman. It is probable that errors in detail might be found in the beautiful drawings of sixty years ago, but the spirit of the thing was in them, and the good then done and the still greater good they might have done to modern designers is easy to appreciate. On the other hand, the blackness, the light-devouring surfaces of the carefully taken print from the half-tone block, the gleaming aspect of the pages as you turn them, should not distract our attention from the fidelity of the representation, or disguise the extreme importance of the general subject treated, or the pains and good judgment shown in the selection of the examples. There must be 400 of these, and all but perhaps fifty are devoted to interior views; herein also following the example of Nash's 'Mansions.' In the older as in the newer book, it is rather the custom to give one exterior view of the old manor-house or older castle, and then to come with eagerness to the halls, galleries, and chambers within. Here we have, besides, a number of details: a gateway, a gatehouse, the exterior of some great bay window of which the interior has also to be given, or a single bay and its gable selected from the long, many-windowed front.

The reader is not to suppose that the book is exhaustive. Other such volumes might follow, all made out of the same mass of material, and all as important as this. Neither does it follow that even a series of such volumes would be exhaustive. There must be great country houses in England whose owners do not wish to have them published at all, or who may think

that they have been already described and illustrated as much as is reasonable. The proprietor of a "show place" is not always pleased by the fact that the public claims so large a share of his domain. Belvoir Castle is not in this volume, nor is Penshurst; the accepted type of the old English manor house. Knole is absent, and there is no place on earth more attractive to the student of domestic architecture than Knole. Holland House in London and Alnwick Castle in the far north are alike left for future possible volumes, and the associations with both of those great houses are familiar, are as much literary as artistic, and are sufficient to make their presence in some future collection inevitable.

All this is merely to show the limitations of the publication, because they are less visible than its many good qualities. But there is one statement which the reviewer must of necessity make, although with regret, viz., that no plans whatever are given, neither of the house itself nor of the house and grounds, nor of any part or section of the house. Nor are those plans, so desirable in such case, at all easy to come by. We must seek them in Blomfield's 'Renaissance in England,' or in the architectural folios of Belcher & McCartney, or Gotch. The books we have noticed in these pages, 'Famous Homes of Great Britain,' in several volumes appearing successively, also avoid the giving of ground plans or plans of upper stories. And, indeed, it may be assumed that there are two difficulties in the way: the one being the reluctance of house owners to have the interior arrangements analyzed as carefully as is inevitable where a measured plan is to be made; the other the fact that when the photographer goes down to Hatfield or to Moreton he does not take with him a skilled architectural draughtsman. So what we have is this—fifty-five monographs of English mansions, with four or five very large and two smaller half-tone pictures to each, on an average; and a long introduction concerning the general subject, containing briefer notices and single illustrations. Text and pictures are all printed on that irritating high-glazed "coated" paper which the printers of half-tones affect. The text is of the sketchy and conversational character not unfamiliar to readers of such volumes as this, which are quite capable of being used as "parlor table books," and in the present text there is a certain amount of information which is probably trustworthy and is certainly interesting—information about the original foundation of the building and the more or less mythical stories that are told of its after fate. The illustrations every student can imagine for himself. They are, of course, marred and their value to students diminished by the vexatious modern furnishing—the crowd of tables and chairs, hangings, and vases, without which the modern householder of an English-speaking community cannot feel herself to be at home.

The volume has no index, nor any list of plates. There is a one-page table of "Contents"—that is, a list of the buildings, with the page at which is to be found each monograph or briefer notice in the introduction.

Celtic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples. By Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, A.M. Oxford. 1904.

In this volume Bodley's Librarian takes up once more the discussion of the Pictish problem and related questions in Celtic philology. Between 1893 and 1895 he contributed to the London *Academy* a series of articles concerning the ogam inscriptions supposed to be written in the Pictish vernacular. He tried to show the language to be Celtic, and made a translation in accordance with this theory; but his knowledge of Celtic at that time was so imperfect (as he himself frankly admitted) that his attempt produced very little effect. Undeterred, however, by the failure of his first argument, Mr. Nicholson pressed on with the investigation of the subject, and published in 1898 a pamphlet on "Sequanian"—a discussion of the Calendar of Coligny—and in 1900 an article on the language of the Continental Picts. The present volume contains revised reprints of the two last-named articles, a recapitulation of the results of Mr. Nicholson's previous investigations, and some further development of his theories about the Celts.

The opinions at which he has now arrived may be briefly stated as follows: He holds that Pictish was not only a Celtic, but more particularly a Goidelic language and the parent of Highland Gaelic; that the Picts were never conquered by the Scots, nor their language displaced by the Irish of Ireland; that the Belgic element was more prominent in the population of the British Isles than has been hitherto supposed; that its language was Goidelic, and that Goidelic was also widely spoken on the Continent, "from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine." These propositions, as will be seen at once, are in large part inconsistent with the usual opinion about the distribution of the Celtic languages and peoples. Mr. Nicholson has argued for them with much ingenuity, and has brought together a body of material which deserves more careful examination than we have been able to give it. In recording our judgment, then, that the case is, on the whole, not proven, we are aware that we are not offering an adequate criticism of the book.

Mr. Nicholson has profited by the lesson in Celtic taught him by his former critics, and has abandoned some of the erroneous theories in his *Academy* articles. He has also acquainted himself with a good deal of the recent literature on Celtic grammar. But he appears to us still to be far from a trustworthy guide in philological investigations. We do not like his old-fashioned assumption that *h* was inserted "to avoid hiatus" in Pictavian; and still more easy-going, if possible, is his extension of the same explanation to situations in Biturigan where there was no hiatus to be avoided (p. 113). He ought, in our opinion, to have taken more account of chronology in his discussion of Gaelic sound-laws, and to have depended rather less on modern words (even from O'Reilly's discredited dictionary) for the explanation of Pictish forms. His judgment, also, we are often unable to approve. The etymologies he proposes for Mediolanum ("from the stems of Irish *med*,

'weighing-beam,' and Irish *olann*, 'wool'") and for Pelagius (from the root **<p>el* to fill, and *ggia*, a drove; hence, "owner of many herds") do not increase our confidence in his guesses when he is dealing with utterly unknown tongues.

But, quite apart from any errors of detail in Mr. Nicholson's work, the nature of his subject is such as hardly to admit of the positive conclusions he believes himself to have reached. In his translations of the Rom tablet or the "Biturigan" charm, nearly every word is conjectural, and some of the guessing is pretty reckless; yet on the basis of these renderings he formulates certain sound changes as assured, and classifies the languages accordingly. At times, it is true, he seems to appreciate the incompleteness of knowledge in the field, as when he protests (page 6) against the assumption that Gaulish was a single language of the Kymric type. But the same protest may be made against his attempt to classify "Sequanian," "Pictavian," "Sordonic," and other still less defined dialects as Goidelic. The fact is, that sufficient evidence has not yet been found to justify any such definite classification, though the existence of "q-Celts" on the Continent has been made surer by recent researches. In the present state of knowledge we hold that the use of "Goidelic" to include anything more than the long-recognized branches of insular Celtic simply tends to confusion.

With regard to the insular Picts, we are not persuaded that Mr. Nicholson has found the key to their inscriptions: his translations leave too many inconsistencies unexplained. But he has at least succeeded in reopening the question about the relations of the language. Since Professor Rhys's articles on the inscriptions (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vols. xxvi. and xxxii.), and Professor Zimmer's study of the matrarchal usages of the Picts (in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. xv.), the view that Pictish was not an Aryan tongue has rather held the field. The opinion that it was Celtic, which several scholars have continued to maintain as a possibility, has received its first vigorous restatement at Mr. Nicholson's hands, and the case is, by no means a weak one. But, for Mr. Nicholson's next inference, that Pictish was Goidelic and the ancestor of Highland Gaelic, the evidence is altogether insufficient, and in part unfavorable. The features cited (pp. 78-79) to show the difference between Scottish Gaelic and the Gaelic of Ireland are unimportant, and the whole discussion of the subject is inadequate. So far as we are aware, no thorough comparison of the Gaelic dialects in Ireland, Scotland, and the smaller islands has yet been made, but Mr. Nicholson seems to us to assume a much clearer linguistic demarcation among them than actually exists.

Money: A Study of the Theory of the Medium of Exchange. By David Kinley. Macmillan Co. 1904.

As the title indicates, this essay is not of a practical character. There is little in it that is historical or descriptive; it consists in a statement of principles and in an elaboration of their consequences. That

such an exposition should be dry is not surprising; but the author's style is clear, and his reasoning consecutive. We cannot help thinking it occasionally inconclusive. When we are constantly asked to "suppose a case," or to "imagine a community," or to "assume a society," we are moved to ask whether all the elements of the problem are included. If we deal with hypothetical communities and imaginary societies, we get conclusions that may be invalid in practice. A single omitted phenomenon may vitiate a whole train of reasoning.

Professor Kinley does not claim to have contributed much that is new to the subject, and he informs us that the field which he attempts to cover has recently been occupied by Professor Laughlin's 'Principles of Money,' and in part by Professor Scott's 'Money and Banking.' But he differs with these authors in his view of the influence of credit, and of the relation of the quantity of money to its value. We can do little more than call attention to a few particulars of the views here taken of these subjects.

No doubt, as Professor Kinley says, people accustomed to use credit machinery will try to increase and improve it rather than add metallic money to the circulation—the example of England is proof enough; but we cannot admit that "no other significance can be attached to the increase in the number of national banks" between 1899 and 1903, and especially to their increase in rural communities where banking facilities did not exist before. There were changes in the law to which much significance attaches, and which tended directly to favor the multiplication of banks. It is going too far, also, to say that there can be no "other economic meaning to the tremendous consolidations of great banking houses which the past few years have seen." Such events have many economic meanings.

It is incorrect, according to our author, to hold that credit has normally no effect on prices. It is also untrue that an increased demand for goods due to credit is precisely similar in its effect to an increased demand due to money. The increase in demand in a measure automatically cancels itself, by a simultaneous increase of the supply of goods, so that the total credit demand does not play directly on prices. But "credit exchange is essentially a return to barter by representative transfers of goods rather than by physical transfers. Hence it saves some expense of transfer. In doing so it diminishes the volume of exchanges made with money, and thus causes an increase in the quantity of money relatively to the volume of work it has to do. Therefore, it lowers the marginal utility of money, or, in other words, raises the level of prices."

Strangely enough, the word "money" does not appear in the index to this volume, and the only definition given consists in an account of the services which it renders. As to the value of money, it varies inversely as its quantity, provided the amount of goods exchanged remains the same. That is to say, the value of money at any moment is determined by demand and supply. But this appears to be true, Professor Kinley maintains, only of inconvertible paper, that is, of money having no intrinsic value. When a precious metal is used, to double its quantity may not halve its value. "The

marginal utility of money is a resultant of the demand for money for purposes of exchange, and the demand for the money article for other uses." We may accept this conclusion without feeling, with the author, that its importance cannot be over-emphasized; especially as he proclaims the futility of attempting to establish a relation of simple proportion between the quantity of money and its value. The "rapidity of circulation" of money is declared to be a factor in the maintenance of the price level, rather than in its establishment. The discussion of this point does not strike us as luminous; but, on the whole, the book deserves commendation.

Journalism and Literature, and Other Essays. By H. W. Boynton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

The briefest of prefaces announces that the substance of these essays has appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* or elsewhere, but that they have been considerably changed in form for the most part. Certainly they have not been so much changed as to lose that fresh and easy spontaneity which was originally their most attractive feature. The pleasure we derive from them is pre-eminently that which we expect from conversation about books and related topics with one who is well acquainted with them and likes to talk of them. The essays are all more or less discursive; even those in which the reviewer's attitude is most evident setting the special criticism in a wide frame of general observation.

The most elaborate of the fifteen is that on journalism, and, standing first in order, it may be accepted as the essay to which Mr. Boynton would have us attend most deliberately. Strictly speaking (we are told), journalism has no literary aspect; it has certain contacts with literature, and that is all. "But it happens that pure journalism is hardly more common than pure literature." "Wherever in a journal personality emerges and fully expresses itself, literature emerges." It happens, moreover, that there is journalism in literature as well as literature in journalism. What gives us pause in these discriminations is the assumption that journalism is less journalism when it has the literary quality than when it lacks it. In this connection the late Mr. Godkin offers a troublesome problem.

"The genius of a writer like Godkin cannot be denied; it still presides over the admirable journal which owes its prestige to him. But it was a genius allied with a moral sense somewhat too readily moved to indignation. His was a singular instance of the nature which prefers the ardor of prompt service to the ardor of self-utterance. His work lay, accordingly, upon the border regions between literature and journalism."

Here is less blame than praise, but is it a good judgment? It seems to us that Mr. Godkin's ardor of service was identical with his ardor of self-expression; that the mystic line between the two cannot be drawn. It seems to us that Mr. Godkin's editorials were not a whit less journalism because they had invariably a noble literary form.

Some of Mr. Boynton's incidental observations are the more valuable parts of his discourse, as where we read: "Works of art are not ephemeral because they fail to live forever; we must not be unreasonable in

demanding long life for all that deserves the name of literature." We have Mr. Kipling's journalistic literature for a particular example: "Mr. Kipling will eventually rank with a class of writers separated a whole limbo from the greatest creative spirits; one need not in the least grudge them their immediate effectiveness."

In the essay on "Owning Books" Mr. Boynton, conceding that the private library is a less important factor than it used to be, pleads for small private collections made up of the books one loves and to which one frequently returns. The public library is a cold, impersonal affair; the circulating library is neutral. "No reader's soul is likely to be lost or saved by the weekly advent of four clean books in a red box." Much more might be said than is said for the private library as the tool-chest of the literary workman. Under the head of "Pace in Reading" we have instructions in the art of skipping, and, what is better, some excellent suggestions as to reading aloud—to what extent and by whom it should be done. In "Effusions of Fancy" we have a good drive at the literature of the "creditable cancer" and other forms of physical disability or abnormality. The essay on "American Humor" leads up to Mr. Dooley. "Much of the Dooley satire is so good that it must escape the comprehension of many readers who are convulsed by the Dooley phraseology." In Mark Twain, the humorist is found subordinate to the jester. "So far as pure humor is concerned, there has never been a shadow of a boundary line between England and America." Other subjects, treated suggestively, are "Intimate Literature," "Cleverness and Originality," "The Writing Public," and "Reviewer and Critic."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

American Short Stories. Selected and edited with an introductory essay on the Short Story by Charles Sears Baldwin. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.40.
Bain, Alexander. Autobiography. London: Longmans, Green & Co. \$5 net.
Balzac, Honoré de. La Vendetta, and Pierre Grassow. Edited by Marie A. Pécinet. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 50c.
Beerbohm, Max. The Poets' Corner. London: William Heinemann; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50 net.
Bhāratī, Bābā Premānand. Sree Krishna. John Lane.
Cajori, Florian. An Introduction to the Modern Theory of Equations. Macmillan. \$1.75 net.
Campbell, Donald Francis. The Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus. Macmillan. \$1.90.
Chateaubriand. Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe (1814-1815). Edited by Louis Sers. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 60c.
Cleveland, Grover. Presidential Problems. The Century Company. \$1.80 net.
Cochrane, Henry Park. Among the Burmans. Fleming H. Revell Company.
Cook, William Wallace. Wilby's Dan. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
Cuyler, Theodore Ledyard. Our Christmas Tides. The Baker & Taylor Company.
Douglas, Amanda M. Honor. Sherburpe. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
Edgington, T. B. The Monroe Doctrine. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Geil, William Edgar. A Yankee on the Yangtze. A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.50 net.
Gozlan, Léon. Le Château de Vaux. Edited by A. H. Smith. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 40c.
Greene, Sarah Pratt McLean. Deacon Lysander. The Baker & Taylor Company.
Harris, N. Dwight. The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel. Grandfather's Chair. Edited by Homer H. Kingsley. Macmillan. 25c.
Hearn, Lafcadio. Japan. An Attempt at Interpretation. Macmillan. \$2 net.
Helps, Sir Arthur. The Spanish Conquest in America. Vol. IV. Edited by M. Oppenheim. London: John Lane. 3s. 6d. net.
Herrick, Christine Terhune. The Expert Maid-Servant. Harpers. \$1 net.
Herrick, Robert. The Common Lot. Macmillan. \$1.50.
Hope, Anthony. Double Harness. McClure, Phillips & Co.
Hopp, Julius. Tears. Boston: Richard G. Badger. \$1.25.
Howells, William Dean. The Son of Royal Langbrith. Harpers. \$2.

Hugo, Victor. Bug-Jargal. Edited by Louis Sers. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 50c.
 Ideals of Science and Faith. Essays by various authors, edited by J. E. Hand. London: George Allen; New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.60 net.
 Japan by the Japanese. Edited by Alfred Stead. London: William Heinemann; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5 net.
 Jenks, Tudor. In the Days of Chaucer. A. S. Barnes & Co. \$1 net.
 Karr, Alphonse. Extraits du Voyage autour de mon Jardin. Edited by Stuart G. Hallam. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 50c.
 Kildare, Owen. The Good of the Wicked, and the Party Sketches. The Baker & Taylor Company.
 Kimball, E. A. Pebbles from the Shore. Boston: Richard G. Badger. \$1.25.
 Kipling, Rudyard. Traffics and Discoveries. Vol. XXII. Outward Bound Edition. Scribners. \$2 net.
 Kirk, William F. Fleeting Fancies. Boston: Richard G. Badger. \$1.25.
 Lamartine, A. de. Deux Héroïnes de la Révolution Française. Edited by Mary Bentinck Smith. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 60c.
 Mable, Hamilton Wright. Nature and Culture. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2 net.
 Mason, A. E. W. The Truants. Harpers. \$1.50.
 Matheson, George. Leaves for Quiet Hours. A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.25.
 McCarthy, Justin. An Irishman's Story. Macmillan. \$2.50 net.
 McCarthy, Justin Huntly. The Lady of Loyalty House. Harpers. \$1.50.

McSpadden, J. Walker. Stories of Robin Hood and his Merry Outlaws. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35c.
 McSpadden, J. Walker. Synopses of Dickens's Novels. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 45c. net.
 Montagu, Edwin S., and Herbert, Bron. Canada and the Empire: An Examination of Trade Preferences. London: P. S. King & Son.
 Morgan, Lewis H. League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois. New edition, with additional matter, edited by Herbert M. Lloyd. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5 net.
 Murray, J. Clark. An Introduction to Psychology. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
 Nesbitt, E. The Phoenix and the Carpet. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Nicolls, William Jasper. The Story of American Coals. Second edition. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
 Old English Ballads and Folk Songs. Selected and edited by William Dallam Armes. Macmillan. 25c.
 Page, Curtis Hidden. British Poets of the Nineteenth Century. Boston: Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co.
 Pemberton, Max. Beatrice of Venice. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
 Rawson, Edward Kirk. Twenty Famous Naval Battles. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.
 Saintsbury, George. A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe. Vol. III. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.50 net.
 Sanford, Mary Bouchier. The Wandering Twins. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.
 Schloesser, Frank. The Cult of the Chasing-Dish. London: Gay & Bird. 5s. net.
 Sears, Hambley. A Box of Matches. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Siebert, Wilbur H. The Government of Ohio. Macmillan. 75c.
 Sinclair, May. The Divine Fire. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.
 Smith, David Eugene. Grammar School Algebra. Ginn & Co. 50c.
 St. Francis of Assisi according to Brother Thomas of Celano. Edited by H. G. Rosedale. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$4 net.
 The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Edited by Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 25c.
 The Poetical Works of Dante. Gabriel Rossetti. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 75c.
 The Correspondence of William Cowper. Arranged in Chronological Order, with Annotations by Thomas Wright. Four volumes. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$15 net.
 The Quatrains of Halli. Edited in the Roman Character with a Translation into English by G. E. Wood. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 2s. 6d.
 Veblok, Thorstein. The Theory of Business Enterprise. Scribners.
 Ward, Wilfrid. Aubrey De Vere, a Memoir. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 14s. net.
 Watanna, Onoto. The Love of Azalea. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2 net.
 Wellman, Francis L. The Art of Cross-Examination. New and enlarged edition. Macmillan. \$2.50 net.
 Wells, Carolyn. Patty at Home. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
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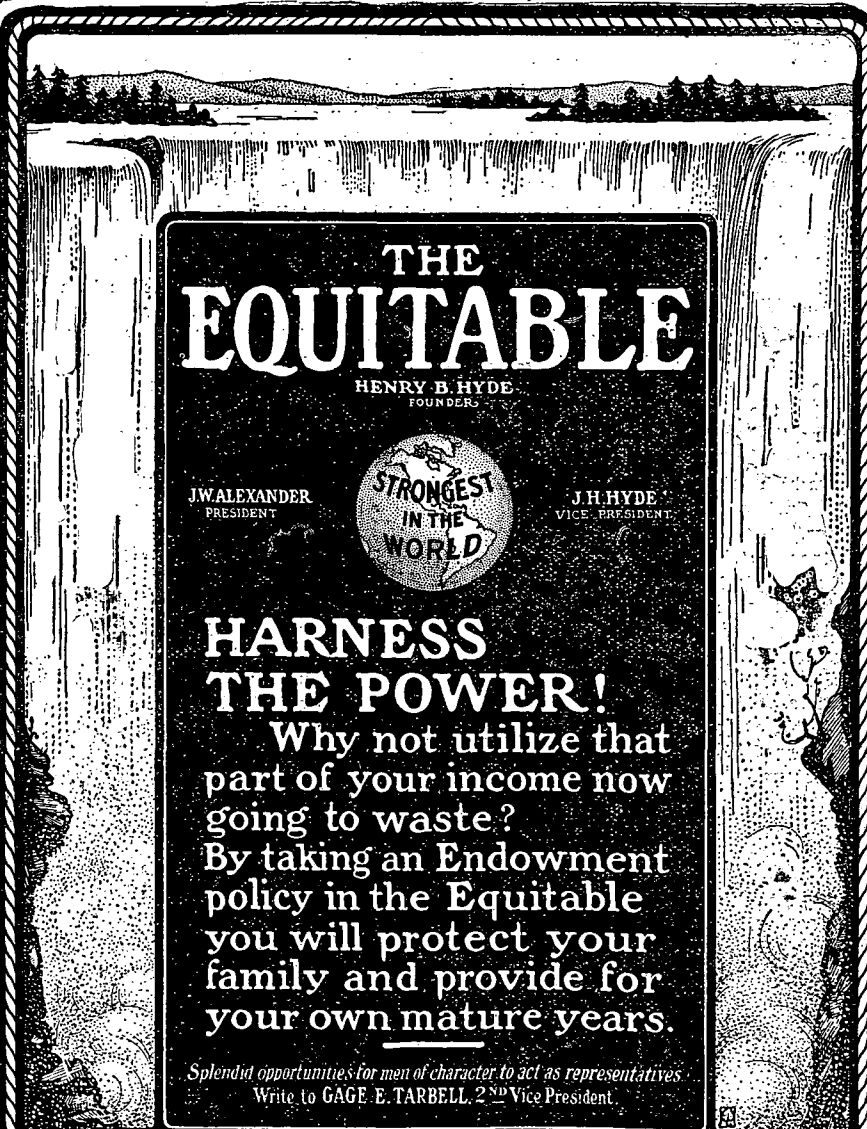
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